THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE new expedition has been commenced by several discoveries of very great interest. The first is that of Kadesh, the sacred city of the Hittites, a nation which at present occupies a good deal of attention among those engaged in the antiquities of the Holy Land. It was found by Lieutenant Conder, who had formed a theory as to its locality from previous study in England, and was rewarded by recovering the site not far from where he had placed it. The identification seems, up to the present, to be generally accepted.

After his journey to the Orontes, and on the arrival of his surveyors, Messrs. Black and Armstrong, Lieutenant Conder began his preparations for Eastern Palestine. Unfortunately he found that the disturbed state of the country would prevent the carrying out of his original design, which was to begin the Survey in the North. He therefore changed his plans, and now proposes to begin it in the South. He has accordingly ridden through Western Palestine from Beyrout to Jerusalem, where he was at the date of the last letter received.

On his way he paid a visit to Tyre. Here he found a curious tomb, apparently of great antiquity, close to the modern cemetery of the town. In accordance with the Oriental conservatism, this may, he says, be also the site of the ancient cemetery of Tyre. He also examined the question of the Egyptian harbour, and other doubtful points in Tyrian Topography. At Khurbet Umm el Amud he was able to trace the plan of the ruined temple. At Jerusalem he has lighted on a discovery which may prove of overwhelming interest. Those who have read his "Tent Work" will remember his theory that the crucifixion may have taken place, not on the traditional site, but on the north of the city at the place still called "the Place of Stoning," namely, a small hill above "Jeremiah Grotto." The neighbourhood in the time of Mejr ed Deen was called el Sahâra, and was then an ill-omened place associated in the Moslem mind with death and judgment.

The hill itself, seen from one point of view, is singularly *like a skull*. It is also a spot which, from its commanding position, would seem well fitted for a place of punishment, because it commands the city, and anything done upon it can be seen from the city walls. Immediately west of the knoll, Lieutenant Conder has found a most remarkable Jewish tomb, which he describes at length. It belongs to the later Jewish period; it is not apparently a Christian tomb; no other Jewish sepulchre has ever been found so near the ramparts, and the discoverer asks the question—*Can this be in truth the Tomb in the Garden?*

We are indebted to the Rev. C. W. Bardsley for an account of his discovery at Jacob's Well. If the chapel which formerly stood over the well was of early Christian period, the stone mouth described and figured by him is probably no other than that of St. John iv. 6.

The commentary on the inscription at the Pool of Siloam, now reprinted at p. 141, was issued as a separate pamphlet on June 10th. We have to thank Professor Sayce for presenting it to the readers of the *Quarterly Statement*. The Rev. Isaac Taylor has sent us some notes upon Professor Sayce's reading.

There is also a paper on the same subject in the Zeitschrift of the German Society, but unfortunately of little value, because the writer had only the imperfect transcript published by us last April.

The paper on Ain Qadis, by the Rev. H. Clay Trumbull, of Philadelphia, seems to clear up a great mystery. It is now forty years since Dr. Rowlands described in most glowing terms a fountain called Ain Qadis, which he identified with Kadesh. No one has hitherto succeeded in reconciling his description with any fountain near the place pointed out by him. Mr. Trumbull has, however, rediscovered the place, which, whether it is on the actual site of Kadesh or not, is certainly a spot where Israel could have rested "many days."

The Germans are conducting excavations on Mount Ophel, under the direction of Herr Guthe. Lieutenant Conder, under the understanding that he was not to anticipate Herr Guthe's announcements, was taken over the works.

M. Clermont Ganneau is recovering from his long attack of fever, and has resumed his archæological researches, which are at present confined to the neighbourhood of Jaffa. He hopes to send an account of certain discoveries recently made for the next *Quarterly Statement*.

The first volume of the "Memoirs" has now been issued. The volumes of "Special Papers" and "Name Lists" will be sent out some time this month. The second and third volumes of "Memoirs" are in the press, and will be issued as soon

as possible. The volume of "Jerusalem Work," which will be illustrated by a large portfolio full of plans, will be sent out about the beginning of next year.

A new edition of the Great Map has been prepared by Mr. Stanford, and is now ready. The supporters of the Society will confer a great benefit on the cause of Palestine research by getting this map taken by libraries, schools, colleges, and public institutions.

The reduced map (modern) will be ready for printing in August, and will be issued as soon as possible. Mr. Saunders's *Introduction to the Survey* will also be issued in the course of the quarter. The two ancient maps should be ready in the autumn.

The General Committee has been strengthened by the names of the Bishop of Liverpool, Mr. W. Adams, Mr. W. Dickson, Mr. Douglas Freshfield, Mr. Oliver Heywood, Rev. Prof. Sayce, Rev. William Wright, and Colonel Yule.

We are informed by Mr. Kershaw, the Librarian of Lambeth Palace, that the Archbishop of Canterbury is anxious to let it be known among the Members of this Society that he desires to increase the usefulness of the library by rendering it more accessible for purposes of study and the *loan* of books. A collection of modern works on the history and antiquities of Palestine has been formed in the library; many Greek versions of the Scriptures, commentaries and other Biblical MSS. are here treasured, and here will be found the collection of the late Professor Carlyle, consisting of MSS. brought from the East, of great value to Oriental and critical scholars.

Arrangements can now be made for lectures on the Survey and its Biblical Gains. The Rev. Henry Gray and the Rev. James King will continue to give their services to the Society during the next winter.

The income of the Fund from all sources from March 16th, 1881, to June 21st, was £1,073 11*s.* 4*d.* The amount in the Bank at the meeting of General Committee of June 21st, was £1,068 9*s.* The sum required before the end of the year is about £2,000.

A Cheap Edition of "Tent Work in Palestine," has been published by Messrs. Bentley and Son. All the small illustrations which were in the Library Edition, and two of the full-page drawings, will be found in the new Edition, which has been carefully revised by the author. An additional chapter has also been added on the "Future of Palestine." The work will be read with greater interest now that the progress of the Survey may be followed on the Map.

It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and the most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a bank. Many subscribers have adopted this

method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that these rest solely upon the credit of the respective authors, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee neither sanction nor adopt them.

MEETING OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

The Annual Meeting of the General Committee was held at the Office of the Society on Tuesday, June 21st, at 4 o'clock.

The Chair was taken by Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S.

The Chairman informed the Committee that he held in his hand many letters regretting inability to attend, including one from Sir Moses Montefiore, who forwarded a cheque for £10 (the second donation this year) for the funds of the Society. The Secretary then read the Report of the Executive Committee for the last year, which was as follows :—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"Your Committee elected at the last General Meeting, held on March 16th, 1880, have, on resigning their trust, to render to you an account of their administration during the last year.

"1. The Committee have held thirty-two meetings since their last election.

"2. The subjects which have occupied their attention have been the following :—

"I. The publication of the Map, and "Memoirs."

"The first edition of the Map was ready in May, 1880 : a second edition followed in the autumn. These two editions were prepared by the Ordnance Survey Department, Southampton. The plates were then placed in the hands of Mr. Stanford, by whom a third edition has been issued. The whole number printed has been 800, of which 699 have been sent out to subscribers, three have been used for office purposes, 17 have been given away, and the rest have been taken by the agent. A fourth edition is now ready.

"The first volume of the "Memoirs" is now ready, and has been issued to subscribers.

"The next two volumes, viz., the "Special Papers," and the "Name Lists," are very nearly ready, and will be sent out next month.

"II. The Reduced Map.

"The plates of this map have been completed, and have been sent back for certain additions. The map will be ready for printing in a few weeks. The following testimony from a recent traveller in Palestine, the Rev. A. G. Girdlestone, to the value of the small map, will be interesting :—

"'I desire to thank the Committee for having kindly placed at my disposal in January an advance proof of their reduced map. And I cannot do so without testifying to its great utility for travellers. I had special opportunities for testing it, as I walked by its aid from Jaffa to Jericho right across the country, and from Hebron to Banias, through nearly its whole length. I was frequently without any other means of finding the way, and it proved invaluable. Its great advantage was most manifest when we walked beyond its limits and lost its aid. I walked through large portions of Moab and Gilead, east of Jordan, and found the existing map nearly useless. And similarly in passing northwards from Banias, we sorely missed its aid.'

"III. The publication of the reduced map in two forms, adapted to the geography of the Old and New Testament.

"It was found that many of the subscribers were disappointed at the prospect of receiving only a modern map of the country. But as the Committee could not, as a body, make identifications and lay down boundaries, it was thought best to entrust the work to a geographer. Mr. Trelawney Saunders accepted the invitation of the Committee to undertake these maps. They are now far advanced, and will it is hoped be ready in the autumn. The Society will therefore possess four maps of Western Palestine, viz., the great map on the scale of one inch to the mile, the reduced map of Modern Palestine three-eighths that scale, and the two reduced maps on the same scale of Ancient Palestine.

"IV. Mr. Saunders has also written for the Committee a work entitled an 'Introduction to the Survey of Western Palestine.' This geographical account of the country is based upon the water basins, and is therefore withheld until these have been laid down for the engraver.

"V. The expedition to survey the East of the Jordan. This expedition, necessary for the completion of the Survey of Palestine, was first formally considered at a meeting of the Committee held on October 19th, 1880. A meeting of the General Committee was convened on November 30th in order to discuss the proposed survey. This was held by permission of the Dean of Westminster in the Jerusalem Chamber. The chair was taken by the Dean, and the meeting was addressed by Mr. Glaisher, Mr. Macgregor, Mr. Douglas Freshfield, Colonel Warren, Mr. Eaton, Rev. Dr. Ginsburg, Professor Palmer, Professor Hayter Lewis, Lieutenant Conder, and the Chairman. The following resolution was unanimously adopted :—

"'That it is now desirable to undertake without delay the Survey of Eastern Palestine, under conditions similar to those which proved to have been thoroughly successful in the case of Western Palestine.'

"A prospectus was therefore drawn up, showing what is the present state of our knowledge, what is required to be done, and the means by which the Society propose to perform the work.

"The Prospectus was sent to all former supporters of the Fund, with results which have been, so far, encouraging; that is to say, although the Committee hardly hope to reach the sum they asked for the first year, it has been proved that a great deal of interest has been aroused in the project, and the Committee have felt justified in sending out their party.

"They have been so fortunate as to obtain the services of Lieutenant C. R. Conder, R.E., the officer who was in command during the greater part of the former survey, and of Lieutenant Mantell, R.E. They have also received permission from the War Office to engage the services of Messrs. Black and Armstrong, formerly of the Royal Engineers, who were with Captain Stewart at the commencement of the survey in the year 1872. The expedition started in April, and have already done some preliminary work on the western side, including the very interesting recovery of the ancient sacred city of the Hittites, Kades on the Orontes. The general instructions to the officers in command are as follows :—

"1. To produce an accurate map on a scale of one inch to a mile.
"2. To draw special plans of important localities and ruined cities.
"3. To make drawings or take photographs of buildings, sites, tombs, &c.
"4. To collect all the names to be found.
"5. To collect geological specimens, antiquities, &c.
"6. To make casts, squeezes, photographs, and copies of inscriptions.
"7. To collect legends, traditions, and folk-lore.
"8. To observe and record manners and customs.
"9. To excavate if time and opportunity permit.

"VI. Meetings in support of the new survey have been held at Edinburgh, Manchester, Belfast, Liverpool, Hull, Bolton, Cardiff, Winchester, Romney, Newport, Abergavenny, and other places.

"The Committee have next to ask that a vote of thanks be passed (1) to the Rev. Professor Sayce for placing at their disposal his valuable reading of the ancient inscription recently found at the Pool of Siloam; (2) to the Rev. C. W. Barclay for sending to them a drawing of the ancient mouths of Jacob's Well, which he succeeded in uncovering; (3) to Mr. Laurence Oliphant for valuable advice and information in the present state of Eastern Palestine; (4) to the Royal Geographical Society for a grant of 100*l.* towards the purchase of instruments; (5) to the Rev. Greville Chester, the Rev. Dr. Porter, Mr. St. Chad Boscawen, M. C. Clermont Ganneau, the Rev. W. F. Birch, Mr. Trelawney Saunders, and Mr. Dunbar Heath for papers communicated to the *Quarterly Statement;* (6) to the Rev. Dr. Porter, Mr. William Adams, the Rev. W. F. Birch, the Rev. J. L. Carrick, Mr. William Dickson, Mr. George Monk, and all those who have promoted the success of meetings in aid of the Society; (7) to Miss Peache, the Rev. H. Hall Houghton, Miss Wakeham, Mr. E. Gotto, Mr. F. Story, Mrs. Wolff, Mr. Burns, Rev. C. Watson, Mr. Fordham, Professor Pusey, Mr. C. F. Fellows, Rev. F. E. Wigram, Rev. M. T. Farrer, Mr. Ormerod, Mr. Budgett, the Dean of Lincoln, Sir Moses Montefiore, Rev. Canon France Hayhurst, Mr. Oliver Heywood, Miss Borrer, Mr. Dykes, Miss Buxton, Lady Tite, Lord Clermont, Mr. Herbert Dalton, Rev. W. H. Walford, Miss Bridges, Mr. Eustace Grubbe, Miss Ward, Mr. Lloyd, Miss Edwards, Sir Charles Wilson, Mr. S. Montagu, Mr. Cyril Graham, Mr. F. D. Mocatta, Rev. Joseph Lyon, Messrs. Rothschild & Co., Mr. A. F. Govett, Sir Julian Goldsmid, Mr. Lewis Biden, Messrs. Sassoon & Co., Mr. Nathaniel Montefiore, the Bishop of Lichfield, Mr. G. Raphael, Mr. E. Trimmer, Mr. E. L. Raphael, Captain Burke, Mr. Middleton, Mr. Bevan, and Mr. Dent for donations varying from 100*l.* to 5*l.*; and (8) to all Honorary Secretaries and others who have given their assistance for nothing.

"VII. The Committee have to regret the loss by death during the last twelve months of—

M. de Saulcy. Mr. Edward Miall.
Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. Mr. George Wood.

"VIII. In accordance with the powers conferred upon them at the General Meeting of Tuesday, March 29th, Mr. Lawrence Oliphant and Mr. Van de Velde have been invited to join the General Committee, and have accepted the invitation.

"IX. The following is the Balance Sheet of the year 1880 :—

Cr.

1880.		£.	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan 1.	Balance	893	10	1			
	Less unpaid account ..	249	13	11			
					643	16	2
Dec. 31.	Subscriptions				1,454	7	8
	Lecture account				42	5	4
	Publications				101	16	0
	Photographs				28	1	3
	Maps and Memoirs				1,392	7	0
	Balance of unpaid account				260	15	3
					3,923	8	8

Dr.

1880.		£.	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	Maps and Memoirs	1,236	7	8
	Salaries, Wages, Rent, Change of Office, Advertising, Insurance, Stationery, and Sundries	717	17	5
	Printing	448	7	10
	Postage and carriage of Parcels	144	19	2
	Law Expenses	10	12	6
		2,558	4	7
	Balance	1,365	4	1
		3,923	8	8

Examined and found correct,
W. MORRISON.

"The Society, therefore, commenced the operations of the year with a balance, deducting the unpaid accounts, of 1,100*l.*; the subscriptions received up to the present date are 1,638*l.*; the current expenses are about 300*l.* a month; the balance in hand at this date is 1,068*l.* 9*s.* Of this sum about 200*l.* is due for instruments and outfits.

"X. It was with a feeling of deep responsibility that the Committee decided on sending out the expedition to the East of the Jordan. The heavy expenses which it will entail for four years at least have not yet been fully guaranteed by an increase in the number of annual subscribers. At the same time so great is the interest shown in the enterprise, that up to the present time a larger amount of subscriptions have been sent in than during the whole of the last year. It is therefore reasonable to hope that the money will be found, as in the preceding Survey, by the voluntary efforts of the subscribers. The sum of 2,000*l.* is asked for before the end of the year, and the Committee will gratefully receive promises of assistance towards that amount.

"XI. The Committee have to express their satisfaction at the appointment of M. Clermont Ganneau to an official post in Palestine, where his great knowledge and archæological zeal will no doubt enable him to make valuable discoveries.

"The Committee have now to resign into your hands the trust committed to them at the last meeting."

This report was adopted unanimously.

It was proposed by Professor DONALDSON, and seconded by Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, that the Executive Committee be re-elected for the ensuing year.

This was carried unanimously.

It was proposed by Mr. HENRY MAUDSLAY, and seconded by Mr. William SIMPSON, that the following gentlemen be invited to join the General Committee :—

The Bishop of Liverpool.	Sir Albert Sassoun, C.S.I.
Mr. William Adams.	Mr. William Dickson, F.R.S.E.
Mr. Douglas Freshfield.	Mr. Oliver Heywood.
Rev. Professor Sayce.	Mr. E. Thomas.
Mr. W. Aldis Wright.	Rev. William Wright.
Colonel Yule, C.B., R.E.	

The CHAIRMAN then called the attention of the General Committee to the signal services rendered to the Society during the last twelve months by Colonel Warren, C.M.G., R.E. It was resolved unanimously that a special vote of thanks be passed to Colonel Warren in acknowledgment of those services.

After a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the Meeting was adjourned.

MEETING IN THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BELFAST.

On the 23rd April a large company, at the invitation of the Rev. Dr. Porter, President of the Queen's College, assembled in his own house, in the college buildings, for the purpose of hearing from him something of what had been done towards the exploration of Palestine, and what was in contemplation by the new Survey undertaken by the Royal Engineers of England. The company was received by the President in one of the large rooms of his private residence. The new ordnance maps of Palestine, and many objects of interest belonging to the country, were on view, and attracted considerable attention. Amongst those present were :—The Lord Bishop of Ossory, the Mayor (Mr. E. P. Cowan, J.P.); Mr. Wm. Ewart, M.P. ; Mr. E. J. Harland, J.P. (chairman of the Harbour Commissioners); Mr. James Musgrave. J.P. ; Mr. John R. Musgrave, J.P. ; Mr. James Torrens, J. P. ; Mr. Samuel Lowther, M.P. ; Mr. F. D. Ward, J.P. ; Mr. Thomas Sinclair, J.P. ; Mr. S. G. Fenton, J.P. ; Rev. Dr. Busby, Rev. Dr. M'Kay (president of the Methodist College), Dr. Parker (headmaster do.) ; Rev. Dr. Meneely, Rev. Dr. Bellis, Dr. Steen, Professor Watts, Professor Wallace, Professor Kileen, Professor Leitch, Rev. Dr. Murphy, Professor Nesbitt, Professor Everett, Dr. Hodges, Rev. Thomas Welland, Rev. Charles Seaver, Rev. Richard Irvine, Rev. M. Clarendon, Rev. Hugh Hanna, Rev. Thomas Hamilton, Rev. J. H. Moore, Rev. George Shaw, Mr. Otto Jaffé, Mr. John Jaffé, Mr. R. W. Corry, Mr. Quartus Ewart, Mr. H. Matier, Mr. Glass, Mr. S. Wallace, Mr. W. L. Finlay, Mr. Wm. M'Neill, Mr. Chas. Thomson, Mr. W. Young, Mr. E. H. Clarke, Elmwood ; Mr. Alex. Jate, County Surveyor for Antrim, &c. There was also a large number of ladies present.

Rev. Dr. Porter delivered a short address. He said the reason he appeared before them was to give some information relative to a country in which they all took an interest, and more particularly to tell them something regarding recent explorations. Every one would admit that the religious element was one that entered largely into everything connected with Palestine. In that country they had three important religions, each of which had exercised a paramount influence upon the destinies of mankind. First, there was the Jewish religion, next in succession the Christian religion, and then the Mahometan. The most sacred shrines of these three forms of religion were to be found in Palestine. With the exception of the shrine at Mecca, there was none more highly venerated than the site of the ancient temple, and the burying-place of the patriarch Abraham. The ancient house of Israel looked upon this land—and rightly so—as the land of their fathers, and that great people also looked forward to that land as the place of their future hopes and aspirations. He was delighted to see some representatives of that ancient and historic race present there

in their midst that afternoon. With regard to the Christian religion, and its connection with Palestine, he need say but little, as many places there were held sacred by every section of the Christian Church. They had only to mention the names of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Bethany, Nazareth, or the Jordan to call forth affection and sympathy, as they were places round which they cling, and ever must cling. Palestine was interesting historically. Some of the earliest chapters of the world's history opened up before them in connection with that country. After referring to some of the early events mentioned in the Bible connected with this land, the speaker went on to refer to the Canaanitish tribes who, he said, had been discovered to possess a literature, and a language of their own. The Hittites exercised more than an ordinary influence, and he believed they were the inventors of the alphabet that had been ascribed to the Phœnicians. All the places throughout Palestine had an important bearing on Roman history. The physical aspect of the country was also of great interest to the student, the surface formation being the most unique in the world. After explaining the position and physical bearings of the River Jordan, the president referred to the architectural wonders of the country. He called attention to the huge stones which were used in many of the buildings, and the difficulties that must have been experienced in getting them placed. He himself had seen some specimens which were computed to weigh some 1,250 tons. These would be difficult to manage ; but he supposed if Mr. Harland had them down at the Queen's Island, he could find some means of lifting them. Some very large stones were placed 100 feet from the ground, and as there were some engineers present that evening, perhaps they could explain the process by which they were got to that position. Palestine was the mother of commerce. Tyre and Sidon were great cities ; they were the London and Liverpool of the world then ; and perhaps Beyrout might be compared to Belfast. These cities did a great timber trade, but he could not say whether any of it had found a place in the composition of the White Star Line. They were also famous for manufactures and arts. Linen may have found a place there —that linen which was perfected by the looms of Belfast, of which trade Mr. Ewart might be regarded as the representative. Such being some of the objects of interest presented in Palestine, he would ask what was being done at present to develop them, or give the public more knowledge of what the land possessed. The exploration scheme had done a great deal, it had thrown a flood of light upon its archæological and physical qualities, and other matters of great interest in that wonderful country. Great changes had recently taken place. The ordnance survey of Jerusalem had been executed just as thoroughly as that of any part of our own country, and that by the Royal Engineers. It was gratifying to find the attention of the Government being drawn to this Survey, and these men giving their time to such an important work. The Americans tried to survey a portion of the land, but they disputed amongst themselves, and the company was broken up. As to what would be done in future, he might say that a meeting was held recently, under the chairmanship of the Dean

of Westminster, who had taken a deep interest in the work from the first, and it was proposed now to proceed to the country east of the Jordan. The surveying party had the assistance of Lieutenant Conder, of the Royal Engineers, and as the staff was an efficient one, and as they intended to work there for three or four years, much good, no doubt, would be the result. The speaker, during the course of an interesting address, gave a graphic account of his experience in the East, which was listened to with much pleasure.

The MAYOR rose, and said—Ladies and gentlemen, I have been asked to perform a duty which I have great pleasure in fulfilling. I feel sure it will meet with your approval, when I say that I have been asked to move a vote of thanks to Dr. Porter for his great kindness to-day in bringing us here to listen to such an interesting and instructive lecture as he has been pleased to deliver. It will require no words of mine to secure for this proposition a hearty reception. We all owe a deep debt of obligation to Dr. Porter for giving us the opportunity of examining his most excellent maps, and for the information he has given about past explorations in Palestine, and also about that which is to come. I need not detain you, and I must say it gives me the greatest pleasure to move this resolution.

Mr. EWART, M.P., seconded the resolution. He said—I merely rise to express the great pleasure it has given me to be present on this occasion. We all feel under a deep debt of gratitude to Professor Porter for the very learned and excellent lecture he has given us regarding a most important part of the world. (Hear.) I can speak for myself, and say that it has made an impression on me that I will never forget, and it has stirred up a wish within me more than ever that I might have an opportunity before I die of visiting the country.

The LORD BISHOP of OSSORY, who was cordially received, said—As a stranger, and as one who is present by mere accident, I may say that it has given me the greatest possible pleasure to listen to such a lecture as Dr. Porter has just delivered. It contained a vast deal of information, and was conveyed in a lucid and happy manner. There are two things that make me personally interested in this subject. One of these is that I was at a period of my life an engineer, and that long before I ever dreamt of being a parson, and at a time surely when I never thought of being a bishop. I know the work pretty well, and I must say it could not be committed to better hands than the Royal Engineers of England. The other reason is that I know a little of Oriental literature, although I have not travelled in the East; but I hope that my feet shall yet stand within the gates of Jerusalem. (Hear, hear.) I have no doubt that the vote of thanks that has been moved and seconded, will be carried most warmly.

MEETING IN MANCHESTER.

On the evening of June 17th, 1881, a meeting was held in the large room of the Association Hall, Peter Street, in this city, in aid of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The chair was occupied by Mr. Oliver Heywood, and amongst those present on the platform were Lieutenant-Colonel Warren, the Venerable Archdeacon Anson, the Venerable Archdeacon Birch, the Rev. Canon Stowell, Mr. H. B. Jackson, and the Rev. W. F. Birch (the Hon. Secretary). A letter of apology having been read from Professor Greenwood (Principal of Owens College), the Rev. W. F. Birch read a statement of the amount subscribed to the fund in Manchester. In 1875 it was resolved to make an effort to raise £500 in Manchester for the fund, and that sum was raised within a year. In the following year £100 1*s.* 7*d.* was subscribed; in 1877, £101; in 1878, £101 3*s.* 6*d.*; in 1879 the amount fell to £76 6*s.* 6*d.*; in 1880 to £66 12*s.* 6*d.* That money had been subscribed by not more than 200 people in Manchester. There were other gentlemen who sent their subscriptions directly to London, but it was felt that in a great place like Manchester, a much larger sum than £66 ought to be returned for the important object with which the fund was started.

The Chairman said he thought the Society had a right to hope and expect that larger contributions will come from this district than heretofore. It was with a sense of disappointment that he listened to the statement of the Hon. Secretary that during five successive years, the subscriptions, not large to begin with, had been steadily diminishing, while the work which was being done had been steadily progressing. It was impossible to carry out great undertakings without considerable funds, and those who were invited to give considerable contributions not unnaturally liked to know what was being done and had been done. Until the Society was established in 1865, there had been no really systematic investigation and research of Jerusalem and the Holy Land; but since then, under great difficulties, and with great zeal and perseverance, systematic investigation had been going on. We knew infinitely more of Palestine now than we did 15 years ago, both of the topography and the geography of Jerusalem buried 60 feet below its rubbish, and of the character of the country and of its natural history. It was under those circumstances that the Society asked for help. It was between 15 and 16 years since Sir Charles Wilson first began his survey, which was followed within two or three years afterwards by the interesting investigations which Lieutenant-Colonel Warren himself began and perseveringly carried on for upwards of three years, in and under Jerusalem; and since that time Lieutenant Conder, Lieutenant Kitchener, Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, and others had been pursuing the work in different directions.

Lieutenant-Colonel Warren then gave an interesting sketch of the results of the work carried on under the auspices of the Palestine

Exploration Fund, in which he was assisted by several maps and diagrams. It was at first proposed that the Survey of Eastern Palestine should be undertaken by our American cousins, but after a recognaisance of the eastern side had been made that plan fell through, and the work now devolved upon the Exploration Fund, aided by a number of Americans.

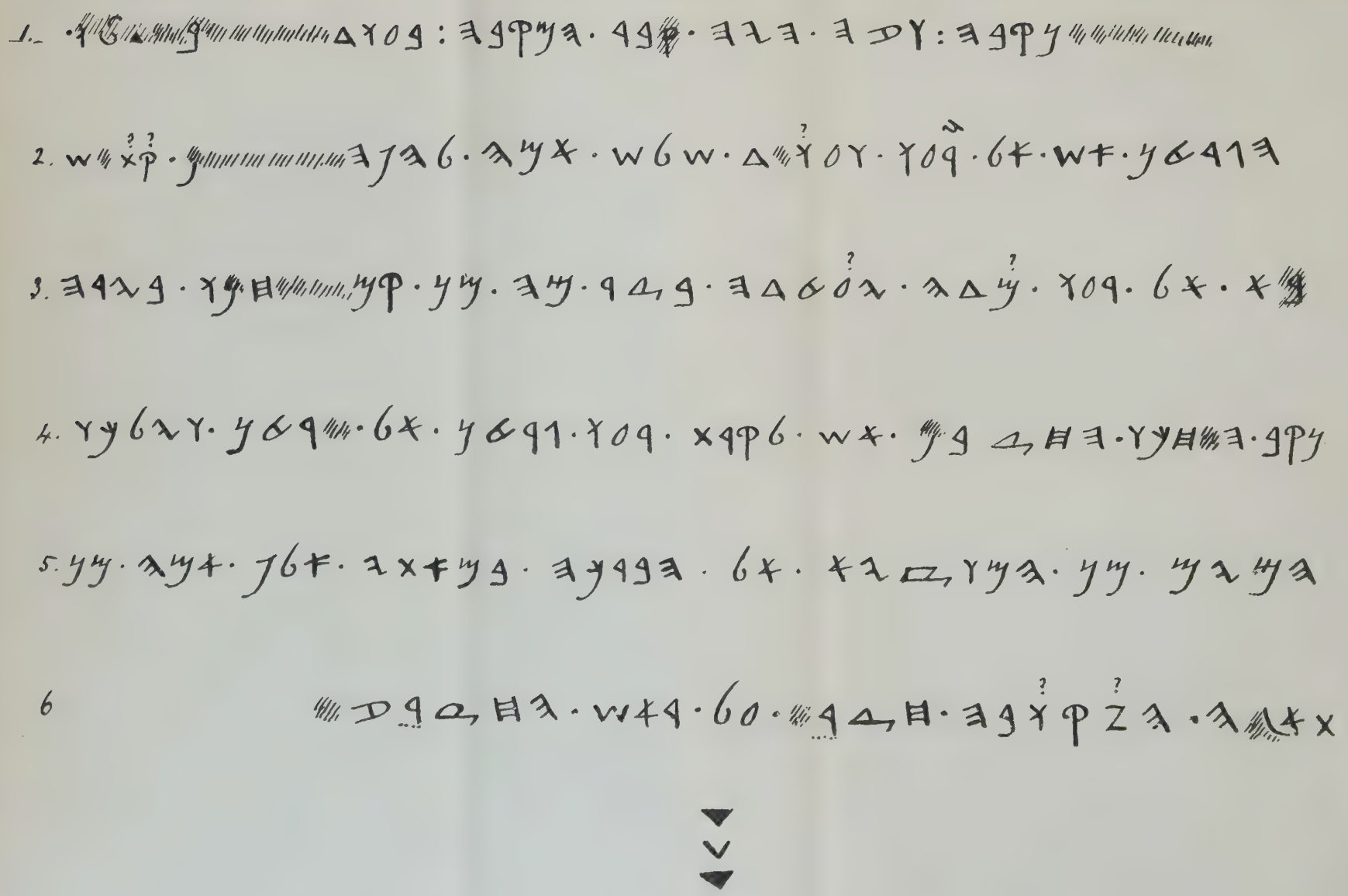
On the motion of the Venerable the Archdeacon of Manchester, seconded by Mr. H. B. Jackson, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Lieutenant-Colonel Warren for his address, and it was resolved to raise £100 a year for five years, in Manchester, towards the fund for the Survey of the Eastern portion of Palestine.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding brought the meeting to a close.

MEETING AT LIVERPOOL.

A CROWDED meeting was held on the evening of June 18th, 1881. The Lord Bishop was in the chair. Lieutenant-Colonel Warren addressed the meeting in support of an explanation of the work of the Society. It was resolved to establish a local branch in Liverpool, and to raise £100 a year for the support of the Society. The Venerable Archdeacon Bardsley accepted the post of Honorary Secretary.

Meetings have also been held at Romsey, March 28th, and Southampton, March 29th, addressed by the Rev. Henry Geary and Colonel Warren at Abergavenny, May 3rd ; Cardiff, May 4th ; Newport, May 5th, and Ledbury, May 6th, addressed by the Rev. James King.



THE ANCIENT HEBREW INSCRIPTION DISCOVERED AT THE POOL OF SILOAM IN JERUSALEM.

I.

By the Rev. A. H. Sayce.

In June, 1880, an important discovery was accidentally made at the Pool of Siloam on the southern side of Jerusalem. One of the pupils of Mr. Schick, a German architect long settled in Jerusalem, was playing here with some other lads, and while wading up a channel cut in the rock which leads into the pool slipped and fell into the water. On rising to the surface he noticed what looked like letters on the rocky-wall of the channel. He told Mr. Schick of what he had seen, and the latter accordingly visited the spot as soon as possible.

The channel in question is an ancient conduit which conveys the water of the Virgin's Pool (*Birket Sitti Maryam*) on the eastern side of the city to the so-called Pool of Siloam. It is cut through the rock, and so forms a subterranean passage through the southern spur of the hill on which the Mosque of Omar stands. The Pool of Siloam lies on the eastern side of the ancient valley of Tyropœon, at a considerable depth below the summit of the Temple hill. The passage connecting the two pools has been explored by Robinson, Tobler, Colonel Warren, and others. According to Colonel Warren, its length is 1,708 feet (569⅓ yards),* though the distance from the one pool to the other in a direct line is only 368 yards. The passage, however, is not straight; it winds considerably, and there are several *culs de sac* in its course, from which we may infer that the engineering knowledge of its excavators was not sufficient to prevent them from missing their way. As we shall see, the newly found inscription shows that the passage was excavated from both ends, the workmen meeting in the middle, like the excavators of the Mont Cenis Tunnel. The height varies greatly, but the width is pretty uniform. I attempted to walk up it from its lower or Siloam end, along with my companion Mr. J. Slater, but after proceeding some distance the roof became so low that, in order to proceed it would have been necessary to crawl on all fours through a thick deposit of black mud, and this, as we had no suitable dresses, we declined to do. However, I made my way sufficiently far to acquaint myself fully with the mode in which the channel had been constructed.

* Robinson makes it about 586 yards.

The roof is flat rather than arched, but the floor is hollowed into a groove, to admit the passage of the water, so that the general form of the conduit is that of an inverted sugar-loaf, thus ⋃. In some places I observed water trickling through fissures in the rocky wall of the channel, and here and there deposits of black mud had found their way into it through similar breaks in the rock. The whole bed of the channel, however, was covered with a layer of soft mud from half-a-foot to a foot and a half in depth. The walls of the conduit, like the roof, are for the most part left rough; but now and then I came across small portions which had apparently been smoothed, as well as hollows or niches in the face of thew all.

The inscription discovered by Mr. Schick is in a niche of this kind, at the lower end of the conduit, and about 19 feet from the place where it opens out into the Pool of Siloam. The conduit is here from 20 inches to 2 feet in breadth, and the niche in which it is engraved is 27 inches long by 26 wide, the niche itself being cut in the rock-wall of the channel in the form of a square tablet, to a depth of an inch and a-half, and made smooth to receive the inscription. It is on the right-hand side of the conduit as one enters it from the Pool, and consequently on the eastern wall of the tunnel. The upper part of the tablet or niche has been left plain, though a *graffito* has been scratched across it, which is probably of late date. The lower part alone is occupied with the inscription, which consists of six lines, and an ornamental finish has been added below the middle of the last line in the shape of two triangles, which rest upon their apices, with a similarly inverted angle between them. On the left side of the tablet the rock is unfortunately fractured, resulting in the loss of several characters in the first four lines. According to the Rev. W. T. Pilter's measurements, the upright lines of the characters in the first line are about half-an-inch in length, those in the second line about $\frac{3}{8}$ths of an inch, while in the remaining lines they average $\frac{6}{8}$ths of an inch. In the wall immediately opposite the tablet a triangular niche has been cut. Mr. Schick suggests that it was intended to hold the lamp of the workman employed in engraving the inscription. At the time the inscription was found, the greater part of it was below the level of the water which flows from the Pool of the Virgin into the Pool of Siloam. This will explain why it was not seen by former explorers of the conduit. The passage of the water has filled the characters with a deposit of lime which makes it difficult to read them, and in the last line the letters are almost entirely smoothed away by the friction of the water. Before the inscription could be copied it was first necessary that the level of the water should be lowered. This was done at the expense of the Palestine Exploration Fund, the Committee, immediately after hearing (in August) of the discovery, having authorized Dr. Chaplin to draw upon them for the money necessary for the work.* At the same time Mr. Schick was asked to take a better copy of the inscription than the one which had been sent to

* According to Dr. Kautzsch (*Allgemeine Zeitung* for April 29th) the German Palestine Exploration Society also sent money for the same purpose,

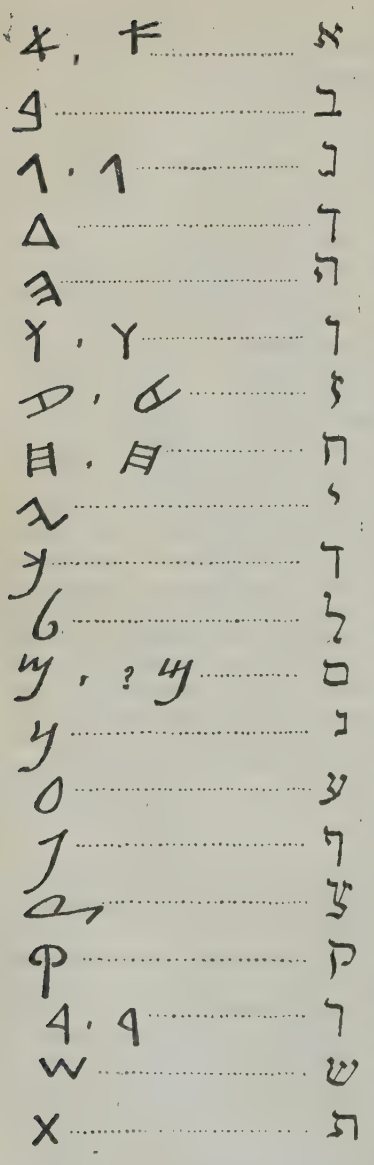
England. This he did in January, but as he was unacquainted with Phœnician epigraphy his success was not great, and the copy could not be read. A second copy, which arrived in England on the 1st of March, and was published in the last *Quarterly Statement* of the Fund (April 1881), proved equally unintelligible.

Meanwhile, I had succeeded in taking what I believe to be the most perfect copy of the inscription that can well be obtained. An accident I met with in Cyprus brought me unexpectedly to Jerusalem at the beginning of last February, and one of my first occupations there was to call on Mr. Schick, and enquire about his discovery. He showed me his copy of the inscription—the same *facsimile* as that forwarded to London in January—and explained to me the difficulties he had laboured under in attempting to make it. I saw at once that it contained characters of the early Phœnician alphabet, and accordingly started as soon as I could for the conduit where it was found, in company with another gentleman, Mr. J. Slater.

Mr. Schick had not exaggerated the difficulties which stood in the way of making an accurate transcript of the inscription. The last line of it was only just above the level of the water, which, though reduced very considerably below its former level, was still from 4 to 6 inches deep, and flowed with a steady and rapid current. In this it was necessary to sit in order to copy the concluding lines of the inscription, and the cramped position necessitated by the narrowness of the space was very fatiguing to the limbs after an hour or two's work. As there was no light so far up the conduit, the characters could only be seen by the dim light of a candle. This Mr. Slater was good enough to hold for me,—conduct the more heroic in that he suffered severely from the mosquitoes with which the conduit swarmed. As the letters were filled with lime, they could be distinguished only by tracing the white marks of the lime upon the darker surface of the smooth rock. Besides the letters, however, every accidental scratch and flaw in the stone was equally filled with lime, thus making it impossible for any one unacquainted with Phœnician palæography to take a correct *facsimile* of the inscription.

The copy of the inscription here published is the result of three separate visits to the spot where it was found. It was only by repeated observation that the actual forms of some of the characters became clear to me, and it will be seen that there are several which still remain doubtful. Since my return to England, I have received another copy of the inscription, made independently of my own, by the Rev. W. T. Pilter, which the author has been kind enough to send me. The commentary will show of what service a comparison of this with my own copy has been to me. I understand from Mr. Pilter, that Dr. Guthe, the head of

but this seems not to be quite correct. Dr. Kautzsch has been in such a hurry to vindicate the German Palestine Association, that he supposes Mr. Schick's copy of the inscription, published in the *Quarterly Statement*, to be mine.



the German Palestine Exploration Society, who has lately arrived at Jerusalem, is having the whole conduit cleared out, in order to discover whether a second inscription is visible at the other end.

The inscription is the oldest Hebrew record of the kind yet discovered. The word אש which occurs thrice in it made me at one time believe that it was a Phœnician monument, אש being the Phœnician relative pronoun. M. Halévy,* however, pointed out that אש must be only a defective spelling of the Hebrew איש, — which, by the way, throws light on the derivation of the Phœnician relative pronoun,—and since the language of the inscription is in all other respects that of Biblical Hebrew, including an example of *waw conversive*, that characteristic peculiarity of Hebrew idiom, no doubt can now remain as to its true nature. It is an early contemporaneous specimen of the language of the Old Testament, written in that ancient form of the Phœnician alphabet already known to us from the Moabite Stone and a few legends on seals.

The form of the alphabet, however, belongs to an even older period than that of the Moabite Stone. While the words are divided from one another by single points, and the opening sentences by double points, as on the Moabite Stone, and while, too, the majority of the letters have exactly the same

* See the *Athenæum*, May 14th, 1881.

forms as those represented on the monument of King Mesha, three of the latter, *waw*, *zayin*, and *tsadhê*, are more archaic in shape than the corresponding letters in the Moabite inscription. The *zayin* was first identified by Dr. Neubauer, and, like the *tsadhê*, presents us with a form from which the forms found on the Moabite Stone and in later inscriptions are derived by dropping the loop, and in the case of the *tsadhê* by yet further modifications. (, Moabite ; , Moabite). The form of *waw*, though older than that of the Moabite alphabet, nevertheless resembles that of the early Hebrew seals, as well as of the Nimroud lion weights (8th century B.C.) The *koph*, again, resembles that of the ancient Hebrew legends rather than that of the Moabite and early Phœnician texts. So, also, does the *bêth* with the long horizontal line at its base. On the other hand, the *daleth*, *caph*, *lamed* and *tau* are those of the Moabite Stone, not of the Hebrew seals, but the long rounded "tail" of the *caph*, *mem*, *nun* and *pe* remind us more of the Hebrew than of the Moabite inscriptions. The *kheth*, too, has three horizontal bars instead of only two as on the Moabite Stone. On the whole, the Siloam inscription presents us with a form of the Phœnician alphabet considerably older than any previously known, and more closely resembling that of the Moabite Stone than any other, although the early form of the *waw* found in it, which was lost in the Moabite alphabet, long survived in the more conservative alphabet of the Jews. An interesting specimen of the alphabet of the ancient Hebrew seals will be found in the last number of the *Journal* of the German Oriental Society (xxxiv, 4), bearing the inscription "Belonging to Abd-Yahu (Obadiah) servant of the king." As it was brought from the neighbourhood of Diarbekr, it may have formed part of the booty carried away from Judæa by Sargon or Sennacherib. I may add that the form of the *zayin* in the Siloam inscription supports De Rougé's attempt to derive the Phœnician alphabet from the hieratic form of the Egyptian alphabet during the period of the Hyksos; though as much cannot be said of the *waw* and *tsadhê*.

Palæographically, therefore, the age of the newly-found inscription is greater than that of the Moabite Stone. Now a glance at the map will show that the Moabites must have obtained their alphabet, not directly from Phœnicia, but through either Judah or the southern half of the Kingdom of Israel, more probably the latter. As it is difficult to suppose that a more archaic form of the alphabet was in use at Jerusalem than at Samaria during the same period, it would follow that the alphabet of the Siloam inscription, and therefore the inscription itself, would be more ancient than the inscription of Mesha, that is to say, than the ninth century B.C. We may accordingly assign it to the age of Solomon, when great public works were being constructed at Jerusalem, more especially in the neighbourhood of the Tyropœon valley. At all events, the historical records of the Old Testament do not warrant our assuming that further works of the kind were constructed at Jerusalem until we come to the time of Hezekiah, who "stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and

brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David." (2 Chron. 32, 30.) This could not be the conduit of Siloam, as the city of David lay on the western side of the Tyropœon. Isaiah refers to this work of Hezekiah when he tells the rulers of Jerusalem that they had "gathered together the waters of the lower pool" (ברכה) and had "made also a ditch (or reservoir) between the two walls for the waters of the old pool" (ברכה.) (Isaiah xxii, 9, 11 ; *see* vii, 3.) The palæographical evidence of the inscription, however, is wholly against our assigning it to so late a period as the time of Hezekiah ; and this is the only evidence that is at present procurable.

The seal brought from the neighbourhood of Diarbekr affords further evidence in this direction. The king, whose servant the owner calls himself, would be the king of either Judah (or Samaria) or of Assyria, and we are therefore justified in dating it as least as early as the seventh century B.C. This brings us near the period of Hezekiah. But, as we have seen, the alphabet of Siloam is older than that of the seal.* The construction of a tunnel like that which connects the Pools of the Virgin and Siloam implies both skill and wealth, such as would be more consistent with the epoch of Solomon than with any other in the history of the kingdom of Judah. So far as we know, Phœnician workmen were not afterwards employed by the kings of Judah, and it may be doubted whether any native Jew possessed the engineering ability displayed, as the inscription seems to show, in the excavation of the conduit. Dr. Neubauer has pointed out to me that the work must have been begun at both ends simultaneously, the workmen finally meeting in the middle, like the excavators of the Mont Cenis tunnel. This will account for the *culs de sac* met with in the passage. It was no wonder that one of the workmen, perhaps the chief engineer himself, recorded the successful completion of the undertaking in writing. The only difficulty is to explain why the upper half of the tablet in which the inscription is engraved is left smooth, the lower half alone being occupied with the inscription. I can only suggest that a historical record of the work was intended to be inscribed in the unengraved portion of the tablet, but that for some reason or other the intention was never carried out, while the existing inscription itself, being merely the composition of a private individual, was engraved in a place where it would be permanently concealed by the water.

The size and clearness of the letters show that writing was no very unusual accomplishment in Jerusalem at the period when the inscription was engraved. At the same time, some of the letters have duplicate forms, which equally seem to show that it was in a somewhat unfixed state. *Aleph* has two forms, one of which is identical with the form found on the Hebrew coins, while the other is the form of the Moabite

* Another seal of Hebrew origin, with the legend לשמעיהו בן עזריהו and a figure which has been compared with "the Golden Calf" of Dan, found on the banks of the Euphrates, cannot be cited as evidence, as it may be of the period of the Exile.

and Phœnician inscriptions: *zayin*, also, has two forms, the loop appearing on the left hand side in one of them, on the right hand side in the other; so, too, perhaps, have *waw* and *mem*, though I do not feel absolutely certain about the form ץ and ץ. I can throw no light on the curious ornament which serves as a *finis* to the inscription.

Historically, the inscription gives us no information beyond the mere record of the cutting of the conduit. Topographically, also, our gains from it are small. We learn that the Pool of Siloam was known as the *B'rêchâh*, or "Pool," and if my reading is right the Bîrâh, or "Castle," mentioned in Neh. ii, 8, and vii, 2, already existed on the Temple area. Josephus calls the latter the Βάρις (*Antiq.* 15, 11, 4), and it stood not very far from the modern gate of St. Stephen and the Virgin's Pool. In the Roman period it was known as the Tower of Antonia. M. Halévy, however, has very ingeniously suggested that the mention of the *'eleph ammâh* or "thousand cubits," in the fifth line may throw light upon two passages of the Old Testament, Josh. xviii, 28, and Zech. ix, 7. In the first the rendering of the A. V. should be corrected into "And Tsela', the Eleph and the Jebusi, that is Jerusalem," which would mean that Jerusalem consisted of the three quarters of Tsela', Eleph, and Jebusi, the latter being the Jebusite stronghold, captured by David, to the west of the Temple hill. In the second passage a slight alteration of the punctuation (reading אֶלֶף for אֵלֶף) would make the sense clear, and give us "he shall be as Eleph in Judah, even Ekron as Jebusi." If M. Halévy is right, the "thousand" cubits of the conduit gave its name to the rocky height, through which it was cut, so that the southern part of the Temple hill, facing Jebusi or the "City of David" was known as Eleph or "The Eleph."*

Metrologically the inscription seems to fix the length of the Hebrew cubit, or *'ammâh*, the tunnel which, according to Colonel Warren, is 1,708 feet in length, being said to be a thousand cubits long. In this case the cubic would equal 20½ inches. But it must be remembered that a thousand is a round number, and should not be pressed too closely.

For philology and epigraphy the value of the inscription is very great. It not only gives us the Phœnician alphabet in a more archaic form than any previously known, but it brings before us the Hebrew language as it was actually spoken in the age of the kings. The Hebrew scholar cannot but be struck by what may be termed the biblical character of the language. The very idioms to which he has been accustomed in the Old Testament reappear in this ancient record. At the same time it offers more than one peculiarity. Unless my reading is wrong, we have in the second line שלש אמה instead of אמת. The same peculiarity, however, is presented by the first word of the last line, which, although in the construct state, ends with *hê* instead of *tau*. It would therefore appear that the engraver carried the tendency to reduce a final *th* to *h* even

* See the *Athenæum*, May 14th, 1881.

further than the classical Hebrew of the Bible. He has also written א to express the vowel *a* in two instances which cannot be paralleled in Biblical Hebrew, במאתי in line 5, and תאחה in line 6. The same *scriptio plena* shows itself in מוציא (line 5), though on the other hand אש is throughout written defectively for איש. The spelling of the latter word is interesting as its suggests the etymology of the Phœnician relative pronoun אש. Other peculiarities of the inscription will be the use of the Hithpael of חכה in the peculiar sense of "eagerly working at," and the employment of a word unknown to Biblical Hebrew, which terminates with זדה (line 3).*

But the chief interest of the inscription lies in the indication it affords of the extent to which writing was known and practised among the Jews in the early age to which it belongs. It thus confirms the testimony of those Old Testament scriptures which claim to have been written during the oldest period of the Jewish State. And its evidence will have to be considered in future enquiries as to the epoch at which the Phœnician alphabet was first introduced among the Hebrew people. Above all, its discovery leads us to hope that other Hebrew inscriptions of an ancient date are yet to be found in Jerusalem itself. "Underground Jerusalem" has been as yet but little explored, and if we may find a record of the kind in a spot which is easily accessible, and has been not unfrequently visited, what discoveries may we not expect to make hereafter when the Temple area can be thoroughly investigated, and the subterranean watercourses of the capital of the Jewish monarchy laid open to view.

TRANSLITERATION OF THE INSCRIPTION IN THE HEBREW SQUARE CHARACTER.

1 הן . (ה)נקבה : וזה . היה . (ע?)בר . המקבה : בעוד (החצ)
ב(ם . ה)עלו .
2 הגרזן . אש . אל . רעו . ועוד . שלש . אמה . להפה .
(?החצבי)ם . [ק?]ת[?](ו . א)ש
3 . אל . רעו . מ[ד?]ה . י[ע?]זדה . בצר . מה . מן . קמ(ה . וי)
חכו . בירה בא
4 נקב [ה?] . ה(ת)חכו . החצבם . אש . ילקרת . רעו . גרזן :
אל . (ג)רזן . וילכו
5 המים . מן . המוציא . אל . הברכה . במאתי . אלף . אמה . מן
6 תאחה . ה(נ)ק(ו)בה . חצב(ו) . על . ראש . החצב ז(ה)

* M. Derembourg has suggested that the מוציא of line 5 is to be identified with the מוצא of the Talmud. See Neubauer, "La Géographie du Talmud," pp. 152, 153. The Talmudical Motsa, however, is described as being near Jerusalem, not as forming part of the city, and as also bearing the Greek name of Kolonia (*Atheæum*, May 14th, 1881).

Translation.

Behold the excavation! Now this is the further side (*or* the history) of the tunnel. While the excavators were lifting up the pick, each towards his neighbour, and while there were yet three cubits to the mouth (of the tunnel) the excavators were hewing. Each came to his neighbour at a measure's length (?) . . . . in the rock on high; and they worked eagerly at (the) castle they had excavated (?); the excavators worked eagerly each to meet the other, pick to pick. And the waters flowed from their outlet to the Pool for a distance of a thousand cubits, from the lower part (?) of the tunnel (which) they excavated at the head of the excavation here."

Commentary.

Line 1. The sense obviously requires הן, for which there is just room. I had conjectured that this word ought to be read when I received Mr. Pilter's copy. In this he has two characters which are clearly הן followed by a point. His copy, however, shows no trace of a ה before the next word, though without it the grammar would be awkward, and I have therefore ventured to supply the missing letter. I was unable myself to make out the first letters of this line.

I read נקבה; Mr. Pilter's copy has מקבה, in which case we had better translate "tunnel" rather than "excavation." The verb means "to bore" and is therefore well fitted to denote the construction of a tunnel. In Assyrian it is used of the construction of watercourses. For a similar signification of מקבת in Hebrew *see* Is. li, 1. מקבה should not be rendered "hammer" as in the A. V. (1 Kings 6, 7; Is. xliv, 12; Jer. x, 4), but "boring-tool" as is plain from this inscription. The name of Macchabæus, therefore, even supposing it were written מקבי and not מכבי as it is, would not mean "the hammer."

The character which precedes בר is unfortunately doubtful. My first copy gave ק, but קבר is used in Hebrew only of graves, not of excavations generally. In my third copy I made the character ה; הבר, however, for הבור would give but poor sense, and the grammar would be awkward. Mr. Pilter's copy has א, like the *facsimile* published by the Palestine Exploration Fund in their last *Quarterly Statement*; this is obviously impossible. Dr. Neubauer has suggested דבר, which would give the meaning required, and agree with the Biblical style. I wish I could adopt it without misgiving, but my copies agree in delineating a loop rather than an angle, and I am therefore inclined to read עבר, supposing the sense to be that the lower end of the tunnel where the inscription is engraved had been the further side of the excavation, which was begun first at the other end.

After בעוד comes a fracture of the rock, and it is possible that more letters ought to be supplied than those with which I have conjec-

turally filled up the lacuna. After בּ there is not room for more than two letters, and החצבם is spelt defectively without ן in line 4.

I believe my restoration of העלו is certain. The last letter is clear; the preceding one, though much obliterated, can only be a ל, and before that comes a small triangular cake of lime which is too small to represent a *daleth*, and can therefore only be ע. The sense given by העלו is just that which is wanted.

Line 2. גרזן must signify "a pick" here, not an "axe." This will be also its meaning in 1 Kings vi, 7.

For the Biblical idiom איש אל רעו, "each to the other," *see* Judges vi, 29; 1 Sam. x, 11, &c. The old form רעו is found in Jer. vi, 21. M. Halévy was the first to notice that אש is a defective spelling of איש. It is similar to the defective spelling of חצבם. The spelling throws light on the etymology of the Phœnician relative pronoun אש, which will have originally meant "man," and accordingly had no connection with the Hebrew relative אשר, which originally signified "place." Over the first letter of רעו is a mark, which does not seem to be a mere accidental scratch, but which I cannot explain.

Instead of אמה we ought to have had אמת. In the last line, however, the engraver has made the final letter of a feminine noun in the construct state ה instead of ת, and it would therefore seem that the tendency of Hebrew to change final *th* into *h* had in his case gone considerably further than in the classical language of the Old Testament. If so, the inscription will afford us an interesting specimen of the local dialect of Jerusalem.

We may notice that the article is expressed in writing in להפה, in contradistinction to בצר in the following line.

After the break in this line, caused by the fracture of the rock, we have, according to my copy, the lower part of a letter which is either a ם, a ן, or a ד; then a point; then the remains of a character which may be either א or ק, and then space for two letters, one of which I have copied very doubtfully as ת. The other copies give no help. As the sense requires the third pers. pl. of a verb, I supply the final ו, and read conjecturally קצו, "they hewed off." *See* Hab. ii, 10. The sense shows that we have to supply א before the final ש.

Line 3. Here my copies would make the first character ב. מדה, however, and the word which follows it, are extremely puzzling. The three last letters of the second word are certain, and are among the clearest characters in the whole inscription. Yet the only Hebrew root with which they can be brought into connection is זוד, "to seethe." It is curious that Mr. Pilter's copy has מצה instead of מדה, "unleavened bread," which reminds us of the use of the hiphil of זוד in Gen. xxv, 29, in the sense of preparing food. But neither the context nor the grammar agree with this reading, whereas my מדה suits the passage well. Of the next word I can make nothing; the last three characters, as I have said,

are certain, and the first seems certainly ו. At all events that is the reading of all my three copies, as well as of Mr. Pilter's copy.

For the construction of מה, *see* Numb. xxiii, 3 ; Judg. ix, 48.

Dr. Neubauer is clearly right in suggesting קמה, written defectively for קומה.

The verb which follows is certified by its recurrence in the next line. In the latter line, the second letter has to be supplied, which I suppose to be the ת of Hithpael, though Dr. Neubauer suggests (with less probability, I think) הן חכו. In Biblical Hebrew, חכה means to "expect" or "desire eagerly ;" here the Hithpael would have the sense of "working eagerly at" a thing.

If my reading is right, בירה would be the castle at the north-eastern corner of the Temple area, near the Virgin's Pool, which is mentioned in Neh. ii, 8 ; vii, 2, and is called Βάρις by Josephus ("Antiq.," 15, 11, 4), the Antonia of the Romans. In this case, the word would not be a late one, as is usually assumed. The omission of the article may be explained by the use of the word as a proper name. In 1 Chron. xxix, 1, 19, *Birâh* is used for the whole Temple. Mr. Pilter's copy has בימה instead of בירה, but this is untranslateable.

Line 4. The first word of this line is difficult both to read and to construe. My copies have חכו(ת) ה . נקב, which is also the reading of Mr. Schick's *facsimile ;* but I cannot translate it. Mr. Pilter, however, reads נקבה . , placing the point after the ה, though, it is true, he seems to read only one *hê*, and this reading, with much hesitation, I have ventured to adopt.

It is, however, very probable that Dr. Neubauer is right in making בירה a compound of the preposition ב־, and then reading נקב with the translation : "And they worked eagerly in the . . . . at a hole."

For the phrase איש לקרת רעו compare Gen. xv, 10. We may notice that לקרת for לקראת is written defectively.

The *waw conversive* of ויולכו unmistakeably marks the Hebrew character of the inscription. It may be added that M. Stanislas Guyard has lately pointed out the existence of a "true" *waw conversive* in Assyrian ("Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes," ii, 4, p. 135, note 5).

The *scriptio plena* of מוציא is remarkable. In Biblical Hebrew we find only the Kal formatives מוצא, מוצאה, not the Hiphil מוציא.

ברכה is the common Biblical term for the "pools" or "reservoirs" which existed at Jerusalem and elsewhere. We may observe that the Pool of Siloam is called "the B'rêchâh" *par excellence*, as though it were the chief reservoir at the time the inscription was made.

במאתי I explain as a compound of the preposition ב־ and the noun מאתי, a *scriptio plena* of the Biblical מתי. In the Bible the

word is used only of time, but it properly means "extension," and the temporal use of it is derived from the local one.

Throughout the inscription מן is written in its uncontracted form. This cannot be regarded as an Aramaism, but, on the contrary, as a mark of antiquity, like the use of מאתי in a local sense.

Line 6. The first word of line 6 is certainly תאחה. The sense seems to require some word parallel in meaning to מוציא. I can think only of תחת, *'aleph* being written as in מאתי, and *hê* taking the place of *tau*, as in the אמה of the second line. But I must confess that the meaning of "lower part" would be more suitable to the Siloam end of the tunnel than to the other, to which it refers. It may, however, signify the grooved channel in the floor of the conduit, through which the water flows.

The next word is read הנקובה by Dr. Neubauer, doubtless correctly.

The noun חצב, with the form of abstracts like אָשָׁם, is not found in Biblical Hebrew, מחצב taking its place. The participle חצב is used of the quarrymen who cut the stone for Solomon's temple in 1 Kings v, 15 (*Heb.* v. 29).

זה is used adverbially, as in Dan. x, 17. I could see no point between it and החצב, and therefore conclude that it was regarded as an enclitic.

Additional Note.—Since the above was written, Dr. Neubauer has made two happy suggestions, which not only explain the difficult passage in line 3, but are also of great topographical importance. He proposes to make the first letter of בירה the preposition as in בצר, and to regard ירה as a geographical name Yerah. The translation will accordingly be: "They worked eagerly at the excavation in Yerah." Now Yerah at once reminds us of the famous passage in Gen. xxii, 14, where Dr. Neubauer's suggestion justifies us in the rendering, "of which it is said to-day, in the mount of the Lord Yerah." Here the name is identified with the Temple-mount, that is, with the very part of Jerusalem in which the tunnel was excavated. But more than this, Yerah is the same word as Yeru, and Yeru forms the first part of Jerusalem. Since Melchizedek is called King of Salem, it is possible that the western portion of Jerusalem was originally known as Salem, the Temple-mount being Yerah or Yeru, the enclosure of the two sites within one wall giving rise to the compound name Jerusalem. It is noticeable that the punctuators make the latter word a dual. Dr. Neubauer's other suggestion is equally attractive. He would read מצה ירזדה and render "to Motsah of Yeru-ziddah." Motsah was a place belonging to Benjamin, and near Jerusalem, according to Josh. xviii, 26, and my copy shows that the character I have read as *daleth* is not formed like the other *daleths* of the inscription, but like the left hand part of the *tsadhé*. With Yeru-ziddah, I would venture to compare the still unexplained name of Bezetha, on the north-east side of Jerusalem. Bezetha might very well represent Beth-Zidtha.

Dr. Neubauer has also drawn my attention to Is. viii, 6 : "Forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Shiloah that go softly," where we should rather render "despiseth." The passage looks as if Ahaz had made a conduit for the rapid passage of the waters of Siloah, while the people ironically said of them that they went only softly. In this case the tunnel in which the inscription has been found would have been either constructed or repaired by Ahaz.

After the above had been revised, I read the article of Dr. Kautzsch on the Inscription in the last number of the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins* (iv. 1, 2), but learned nothing from it. A "copy" of the Inscription is published, which is as incorrect as that published in the last *Quarterly Statement* of the "Palestine Exploration Fund," and Dr. Kautzsch's readings based upon it are naturally worthless, as is also, for the same reason, his supposition that the Inscription is not older than the age of Hezekiah.

II

POSTSCRIPT.

A FEW words may be added by way of supplement and correction to the above. In the first place, an important argument on behalf of its antiquity may be drawn from the fact that the modern Pool of Siloam is called in it simply "*the* Pool." This implies that no other artificial reservoir of the kind existed at the time in Jerusalem. We are thus referred to an earlier epoch than the age of Isaiah, who mentions no less than four reservoirs, "the upper pool" (Is. vii, 3), "the lower pool" (Is. xxii, 9), "the old pool" (Is. xxii, 11), and the newly made "ditch," or more properly "tank" (*ib.*). The latter, I fancy, was the reservoir still existing to the south of the Pool of Siloam, which I am inclined to identify with "the old pool." The Pool of Siloam is called "the pool of Siloah by the king's garden," in Neh. iii, 15, and "the king's pool," in Neh. ii, 14, a designation which seems to show that it had been constructed by some famous sovereign. We know of none before the time of Ahaz and Hezekiah who could have executed the work, except either David or Solomon. As no other artificial reservoir appears to have existed in Jerusalem when the inscription was engraved, it is more probable that the reservoir was made shortly after the conquest of Jebusi by David, and the encirclement of the new capital by a single wall, than when the Temple was actually being built.

It is difficult to suppose that the reservoir existed before the conduit which supplied it with water from "the dragon well," as it is termed in Neh. ii. 13. I believe, therefore, that the reference in Is. viii, 6—"forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Shiloah that go softly,"—must be to the reparation of the tunnel by Ahaz, not to its original excavation. Ahaz had cleared out the passage, and so allowed the water to flow rapidly

through it; his disaffected subjects ironically declared that it went only slowly.

The two *culs de sac* found in the conduit, occur, according to Colonel Warren's measurements, at a distance of 900 feet from its outlet into the Pool of Siloam. The two false cuttings "go in for about 2 feet each" on either side of the tunnel. Here, therefore, must have been the place in the middle of the conduit where the two bodies of workmen met, to find that they had not followed exactly the same line, but that the ends of their two tunnels overlapped each other. A passage was accordingly cut from the one to the other, the space between the two turning out to be not more than the average breadth of the conduit itself.

Since the publication of my pamphlet, I have received a letter from Mr. Pilter, in answer to my questions about certain doubtful characters in the inscriptions. Another visit to the inscription for the purpose of specially studying the doubtful letters I had indicated, has had the following result. In the first line the reading דבר is settled, the first character of the work being unmistakably a *daleth*, not an *'ayin*. We must therefore translate "This is the history of the excavation." It is further clear that the inscription was originally intended to commence with the words "Behold the excavation," and that the smooth upper part of the tablet was intentionally left uninscribed.

In the third line Mr. Pilter reads זדה ה י (ת?) (?,) מצ. We may therefore look upon the reading Motsah Yeru-siddah as fairly certain, since my copies leave no doubt that the point follows the ה, and does not precede it, while the doubtful letter can well be a *resh*. At the end of the line Mr. Pilter still reads בימה. I believe, however, that I distinctly saw בורה.

At the beginning of line 4, Mr. Pilter finds חכו . נקבה, the first word being "clear." This is very satisfactory, and does away with the necessity of assuming the difficult *hithpael* form. Mr. Pilter adds that some of the letters are no longer so clear and distinct as they were; "perhaps Dr. Guthe's repeated washings of the stones to get rid of our candle-grease, and make his own gypsum cast, have washed away some of the lime deposited, which was so useful to us."

A. H. Sayce.

III.

The Date of the Siloam Inscription.

Professor Sayce has, I believe, overlooked certain considerations which bear on the date to be assigned to the Siloam inscription.

On p. 145, he gives it as his opinion that it represents an earlier stage of the Semitic alphabet than the Moabite Stone, and he assigns it with some confidence to the time of Solomon. On p. 152, however, with his usual candour, he draws attention to an historical argument of great weight, brought forward by Dr. Neubauer, which would bring the date down to the reign of Ahaz. But the palæographical evidence, he argues, is "wholly" in favour of the earlier date.

On the other hand, I think that it may be maintained that the palæographical probabilites, as well as the historical evidence, are in favour of the later date.

The Moabite stone belongs to the beginning of the 9th century B.C. If the Siloam inscription is of the time of Solomon, it would belong to the beginning of the 10th century, if to the time of Ahaz to the middle of the 8th. Here then is a very definite issue. To the practised eye of the palæographer, there ought to be no great difficulty in deciding whether the inscription is either a century older, or more than a century later than the reign of Mesha.

The sole argument urged by Professor Sayce in favour of the earlier date is that three of the Siloam letters, *tsadhe*, *waw*, and *zayin*, seem to him of more archaic forms than on the Moabite Stone. At the same time he admits that several other letters belong to the more recent type which is used in the legends on the ancient Hebrew seals.

Now even if we admit the assumption as to the antiquity of the forms of the three letters, the conclusion by no means follows. It may be laid down as a palæographic canon, that the date of an inscription is to be determined by reference to the most recent rather than to the most archaic forms which it contains. The presence of one or two late forms is decisive evidence of the late date of a whole inscription, while the presence of one or two early forms is of no very great significance, as they can be accounted for as local survivals. For example, in Athenian inscriptions of the 5th century, we find the archaic form of the *lambda*, V, whereas the new form Λ has already made its appearance in the Greek alphabet in the 7th century, as is evidenced by the Abu Simbel inscription. The old form of the *lambda* at Athens is clearly a mere survival, and it would be preposterous on such a ground to argue that an inscription such as the Erechtheum survey must be antedated by three centuries, and assigned to a time earlier than the reign of Psammetichus. But this is in fact what Professor Sayce has done, when he ante-dates his inscription on the sole evidence of two or three letters which seem to exhibit exceptionally early forms.

It must be contended that such a mode of argument is illegitimate, and

that the Siloam inscription, like all other inscriptions, must have its date determined by reference to the age of the most recent of the forms which it exhibits.

Now at least half of the Siloam letters appear in forms which are unmistakably later than those on the Moabite Stone. The curvature to the left of the tails of the tailed letters, viz., *beth*, *kaph*, *mim*, *nun*, and *pe* is more pronounced than on the Moabite Stone. Here we see in operation one of the chief causes which ultimately transformed the old Semitic alphabet. The *cheth* with three bars is also later than the Moabite form with two bars, and so is *qôph*, whose head is partly opened, while the earlier form is completely closed.

But an argument to which still greater weight must be assigned is derived from the variant forms in which the letters *aleph*, *waw*, *nim*, and *resh* are written. The old Moabite forms of these four letters are used in the Siloam inscription side by side with the later forms, which subsequently supplanted them. These letters establish decisively the fact that the Siloam alphabet is a TRANSITION ALPHABET, belonging to a period intermediate between the Moabite alphabet of the 9th century, and the newer forms by which in the 6th century they were replaced.

Referring to the Siloam alphabet given by Professor Sayce on p. 144, the first *aleph* is the form on the Moabite Stone, while the second is the 6th century form which is found in the Gebâl and the Nora inscriptions, and also on the early Hebrew shekels, which are ascribed by de Saulcy and Lenormant to the times of Ezra and Nehemiah. Again, the first form of *resh* approximates to the Moabite form, while the second is later. The same is the case with *waw*. The second form in Professor Sayce's table is Moabite, while the first, instead of being earlier, as Professor Sayce alleges, is decisively later, as is proved by its being used on the early shekels of the time of Ezra.

The two forms of *mim*, however, yield an argument so conclusive that they would by themselves suffice to settle the controversy. We actually have in the Siloam inscription, side by side, the two forms of this letter which are commonly used as the most convenient test to distinguish between the first and second epochs of the Semitic alphabet. The earlier, or zigzag form, is essentially the same as the Moabite form, and occurs twelve times. In the form which it had during the second epoch, with the horizontal bar and the cross stroke, the letter occurs twice, in lines 3 and 5. Now this later form is not found on the Moabite Stone, or in the earlier Phœnician inscriptions, or on the Assyrian Lion weights which belong to the beginning of the 8th century. On the other hand, it is found on the Eshmunazar sarcophagus, in the Gebâl inscription, in the second Sidonian, and many other inscriptions from the 6th century downwards. On the Assyrian contract tablets, however, which belong to the 7th century, it is usually found, but occasionally approximates to the earlier form. Now in the Siloam inscription, the Moabite, or 9th century form appears twelve times, and the Sidonian or 6th century form appears twice. In the 7th century, as we learn from

the contract tablets, the old form had nearly disappeared; while at the time when the Siloam inscription was engraved, the new form was just beginning to come in. The evidence furnished by this letter alone might enable us with considerable confidence to assign the Siloam inscription to the middle of the 8th century, the exact date of the reign of Ahaz.

Professor Sayce bases his sole argument for the early date on the assumption that the forms of the three letters, *waw*, *zayin* and *tsadhe* are older than those on the Moabite Stone. Even if this were the case, his conclusion would by no means follow, the later forms of *mim* and other letters affording decisive proof that the more archaic forms must be regarded only as survivals.

But I cannot even admit that the forms of these three letters have the antiquity that is claimed for them. Much, no doubt, may be said in favour of the archaism of the forms of *tsadhe* and *zayin*, but with regard to *waw*, the very form which Professor Sayce considers to be so ancient is actually the later Hebrew form, exactly as found on the shekels of the time of Ezra, and manifestly the transition form from which the Asmonean letter was obtained. Both *zayin* and *tsadhe* are letters of comparatively rare occurrence, and the evidence as to their history is therefore scanty. The letter *zayin* does not happen to be met with on any of the early shekels, but the looped form, which Professor Sayce considers to be so early, is found on the coinage of Bar Cochba, which was imitated from the earlier shekels, and has actually been transmitted to the modern Samaritan alphabet.

As to the very peculiar shape of *tsadhe*, it seems impossible that it can have been the parent of the Moabite form, but on the other hand it can be connected without much difficulty with the form on one of the early shekels. On the whole, it may be affirmed that the weight of the evidence tends to show that Professor Sayce's three archaic letters are merely local Hebrew forms, and decidedly posterior to the Moabite letters.

The conclusion, therefore, is that out of the twenty letters in the Siloam inscription eleven or twelve exhibit forms later than the Moabite Stone, that not one is decisively earlier, and that even if this were the case, it would not affect the argument. Indeed, if it were not for the early forms of *he* and *lamed*, it would not be impossible to bring the inscription down almost to the time of the Captivity. The palæographic probabilities tend, however, very strongly to support the ingenious conjecture of Dr. Neubauer that the conduit was excavated in the reign of Ahaz, that is about the middle of the 8th century.

It may be noted in conclusion that the Siloam inscription throws valuable light on the date and affiliation of the South Semitic alphabets. The peculiar double-looped form of *tsadhe* connects itself with the double-looped forms of this letter, which characterize the South Semitic alphabets, *e.g.*, the Himyaritic , the Harra , and the Thugga . So again the looped *zayin* is connected with the Himyaritic form of the letter which is also looped.

ISAAC TAYLOR.

LIEUTENANT CONDER'S REPORTS.

I.

Beyrout, 22*nd April*, 1881.

Having reached Beyrout on the 29th March, and being unable to commence actual operations until the arrival of our men, stores, and instruments, which were not due for a month, we cast about for some useful occupation of the time which must thus of necessity intervene—the month of April being one of the best in the year for field operations. Our projected field of action in the Hauran was for the moment closed, in consequence of difficulties between the Turks and the Druzes; while the time necessary for travelling to the Sea of Galilee, and for making any really useful explorations on its shores, would have been so long as to interfere with our other plans. We therefore determined to devote a fortnight to the investigation of a question which is probably of greater antiquarian interest than any other, of those as yet unsettled in Northern Syria, namely, the recovery and exploration of the sacred southern capital of the Hittites—the famous city of Kadesh on the Orontes.

For this purpose we hired horses and tents, and armed with a circular letter from the Wâly at Damascus, kindly obtained by the Consul (Mr. Jago), we left Beyrout on the 1st of April—the third day after our disembarkation—and journeying across the Lebanon to Zahleh and Baalbek, pushed northwards to the lake and town of Homs, returning by the pass between Lebanon and the Anseirîyeh mountains to Tripoli, where we were caught by the equinoctial gales, and whence, after the delay of two days due to the storm, we returned to Beyrout on the 17th April. The expedition was more successful in its results than we had hoped, and Lieutenant Mantell was not less of opinion than I am myself disposed to be, that the discovery of the true site of Kadesh—a city as old as the time of Moses at least—has been the reward of our investigations.

Baalbek.

We were detained for two days at Baalbek awaiting the Wâly's letter; and our studies were, I hope, not without interest. Several inscriptions in the temple-fortress are enumerated by M. Waddington, and others were shown to me in 1873 by Mr. Wright; but one which we lit upon, in a small ruined chamber behind the northern apse of the basilica of Theodosius in the great court, is possibly unknown. It is written in long narrow letters rudely painted in red on white plaster, and has been partly obliterated by the fall of the plaster. The form of the letters seems to indicate Byzantine origin, and the inscription seems probably to be of the date of the erection of this basilica (379 to 395 A.D.). It occupies a space of 1 foot 9 inches by 3 feet 3 inches, but there are traces of other letters to the right. On the left no further letters can have existed, the inscription

being close to the south-west corner of the vault, near the ground. After carefully cleaning tha plaster the following letters became clearly visible :

ΠΡΟCΗ
Ν . . . Ρ . . Α . .
ΤΟΝΡΥ . . . ΕΝΔΥΑ . .
ΡΟCΛΑΜΒΑΝΩΝΦΩCΚΑΙΑΝ
Υ . . . ΟΥΠΡΟΦΑΙΘΥ . Ο .

I have not the means at hand for attempting to decipher this text, although several words, including the προσλαμβανων φως of the fourth line, are easily legible. It may be noted that the peculiar form of the Ω (which resembles a W), is observable in another inscription at Baalbek, namely, in the round temple which was dedicated in later times by the Christians to St. Barbara. Here, on the stones of the interior, is painted a red cross on a white ground in a yellow circle, with the inscription τουτωνίκη, the form of the Ω being that of a W. There are many other crosses cut on this building, and also on the bases of the columns in the Temple of the Sun, or smaller temple. It is curious to observe that the basilica of Theodosius has its apses at the west end, showing that the practice of orientation was not invariably adopted until after the close of the fourth century—a conclusion which agrees with the direction of Constantine's basilica at Jerusalem.

The basilica of Theodosius is built on the same central line with the great temple, of which only the six pillars remain. Lieutenant Mantell took careful azimuth and altitude observations, which determine the bearing of this line as 77° east of true north. The sun rises on this line on April 28th and August 14th (as nearly as can be determined), and sets on February 24th and October 17th.

It may be remarked that the mourning for the sun-god Thammuz occurred in the sixth month of the Jewish year on the fifth day (Ezek. viii, 1–14), or about the middle of August—as nearly as can be reckoned considering the periodical intercalation of the Veadar month. This mourning was succeeded by a joyful feast three days later. Possibly the orientation of the Sun Temple may have some connection with the rising of the sun on this line on the 14th August. It is also noticeable that the Jebel Sunnîn appears on the west framed by the pillars of the great temple, the centre line of which passes about 3° to the left of the apparent summit. Whether this be designedly so arranged, or is merely accidental, seems doubtful.

The inscriptions on the bases of the two columns of the portico at Baalbek, attributing the erection of this sanctuary, built in honour "of all the gods of Heliopolis," to Antoninus Pius, and to Julia Domna, wife of Septimus Severus, and daughter of Bassianus, priest of the sun at Emesa (Homs), are well known. In the southern vault, by which the great platform is usually reached, there is, on one of the keystones, a bust of Hercules in high relief, with the inscription DIVISIO MOSCI, as recorded by M. Waddington. In the southern parallel vault are inscriptions shown to

me in 1873 by Mr. W. Wright, also on keystones of the arched roof; the first, on the east, DIVISIO CHON; the second near the west, CIRSV. In the same vault is one keystone ornamented with a female bust in high relief, and another with some floral emblems. These are scarcely visible in the darkness, but the vaults were originally lighted by windows in the arches, which are now filled up with rubbish.

On the north side of the great court are other fragments of inscriptions on pedestals projecting from the walls, doubtless once supporting statues. I do not know whether they have been previously copied, but they are apparently too fragmentary to have any value. The first noticed is :—

. . ΟΠΟCΙ . . . NEMI

The second to the left :—

IO . . LANΔA.

As the temples of Baalbek were dedicated to all the gods, it becomes of interest to study the symbolism of the niches and other decorated portions. One of the alcoves on the north wall of the great court has five niches with carved roofs, the central one having a head of the sun-god surrounded with rays, like that at Rukhleh on Hermon. On the left is a niche with the figure of a man, and another with an eagle flying among stars. On the right the design represents fishes swimming on a great shell; the fifth design is unfortunately obliterated, but perhaps represented some kind of beast, all creation being thus shown surrounding the sun-god.

Among the busts carved on the roof of the colonnade surrounding the smaller temple may be recognised Diana with her quiver, Ceres with the cornucopia, a winged genius—perhaps Eros or Ganymede, a warrior —possibly Mars, a graceful Dionysius with bunches of grapes, and other figures with attributes less easily interpreted. Dr. Robinson speaks of one as a Leda. Hercules with his lion's skin and club is sculptured, as above noted, in the southern vault. On the west side of the colonnade lies a portion of the fallen roof, with a design representing a female suckling an infant—probably one of the nurse-goddesses of Asia. The size of this block may be imagined by the fact that innumerable names of visitors have been written on a single fold of the drapery.

The frieze which is sculptured on the retaining wall of the raised western cella of the smaller temple has been mutilated by later occupants of the place; but it is sufficiently preserved to show that it originally represented some kind of religious dance. One figure blows a long pipe, a second appears to have some kind of horn, a Pan's pipe lies at the foot of the latter, and to the left the thyrsus is plainly visible in the hand of a long robed figure with floating hair. Beneath this cella is a vault, in which a tomb was discovered, containing human bones and other relics. These would probably belong to the Christian period, when this temple was converted into a church.

The exterior masonry at Baalbek is generally drafted, though not with the regularity of the Temple walls at Jerusalem. A careful examination

shows, however, that the tooling of the stones is entirely different. Those at Jerusalem were worked with a toothed instrument, while at Baalbek a pointed chisel had been employed. The *criss cross* dressing never appears at Baalbek, and seems to be distinctive of the Herodian masonry at Jerusalem. In 1873, Mr. Wright pointed out on the north wall some Greek masons' marks, but I was unable to find these again, perhaps in consequence of the direction of the light.

Magnificent as is the ornamentation of these great temples, the work seems never to have been completed. We were much struck with evidences of unfinished work ; capitals sketched in stone, but not cut out ; mouldings terminating suddenly, and leaving an unfinished line along the cornice. At the great height at which many of these details are placed, the imperfections are invisible ; but in many cases, when closely examined, there can be no doubt that the design has never been completely worked out.

From Baalbek we travelled along the western slopes of the Antilebanon, passing Nahleh, which preserves the Hebrew name Nachal ("a Torrent"), due to the fine stream in the gorge beneath, and where are remains of a temple ; Lebweh, the Libo of the Antonine Itinerary, near which is one of the principal sources of the Orontes ; and the village, El 'Ain, which seems not improbably to be the Biblical Ain (Num. xxxiv, 2), south of Riblah ; and on the evening of this day (6th), we reached Râs Baalbek, where we found Christian ruins and a tradition of a ruined monastery, with a holy spring, the water of which was said to give milk to any nursing mother who might make a pilgrimage to the spot—a tradition which may be found in other parts of Palestine, as, for instance, at Bethlehem.

From Râs Baalbek we rode north-west to visit the fine blue pool of 'Ain el 'Asy, the largest source of Orontes, situated in a desolate gorge under Lebanon, and thence to the little mediæval hermitage of Mâr Marûn, where the Maronite saint is said to have had his eyes put out by a certain Nicola. The caves are situated in a cliff east of the river, and look down on the rushing stream beneath. A masonry wall, with loopholes, once protected the passage in front of the caves—a narrow ledge of rock ; the site was one well fitted for a hermitage, and similar caves occur west of the river, a few miles further north, at a site called Maghâret er Râhib ("Monk's Cave").

Kamu'a el Hirmil.

About noon we reached the conspicuous monument called Kamû'a el Hirmil, from the village of Hirmil, which is not far from it, on the opposite or western side of the Orontes. The Kamû'a ("Monument") is perhaps the most conspicuous landmark in Syria, standing on the summit of swelling downs of black basalt, with a view extending northwards in the vicinity of Homs, and southwards in fine weather to Hermon. We carefully measured and sketched the details of the monument, but it has

been visited by Robinson and Vandevelde, and the beautiful drawings of detail made by the latter (now in possession of Mr. W. Dickson, in Edinburgh) leave little to be desired. The building appears to have been solid, and is founded on three steps of black basalt. It measures 10 yards side at the base, and consists of two stories each, with flat pilasters and cornice, and a pyramidal superstructure above them. The height, as calculated from the vertical angles taken by Lieutenant Mantell, appears to be as follows (a much higher estimate than that given by Bædieker) :—

	ft.	in.
Three basalt steps	3	6
First story, including cornice	28	0
Second „ „ „	21	0
Pyramid	26	0
Total	78	6

On the lower story are designs in relief. On the east a wild boar hunted by two hounds, flanked by bows and quivers, with spears and other implements represented above. On the north are two stags, one standing, one lying, with horns like the fallow deer—spears and other weapons flank and separate them. On the west are bears, one walking and followed by its young one, the other rising erect. On the south-east the monument, which appears to have suffered from earthquake, has fallen down ; and the design on the south side is partly destroyed, the fore-part of a dog pursuing a stag being, however, still visible.

The monument is built of coarse limestone. The walls near its base are covered with the Wasûm, or "tribe marks," of the Turkomans, who inhabit the desolate basalt moors which stretch to the north almost to the shores of the Lake of Homs. The details of the cornices and pilasters, some of which we measured carefully, appear to belong to a late period of classic art, and the whole structure seemed most to resemble the work of the second century A.D. in Syria. According to local tradition, the Kamû'a is the tomb of a Roman emperor, and there is nothing about the monument which seems to necessitate the idea of any earlier origin. It may be noted that the name CONNA occurs in the Antonine Itinerary between Heliopolis (Baalbek) and Laodicea (Tell Neby Mendeh), in just about the proper position for the Kamû'a, of which name CONNA may be perhaps a corruption.

From the Kamû'a we rode north-east to Riblah (Num. xxxiv, 2), a large mud village, with poplars, close to the Orontes on the east bank, and thence to Kuseir, the seat of a Caimakam, or lieutenant-governor, lying some 3 miles south-east of the Lake of Homs. The following day (8th April) we devoted to a thorough examination of the southern and eastern shores of this interesting lake, and on that day we discovered the actual site of the great Hittite city.

Kadesh.

Before detailing our observations on the spot, it will perhaps be best briefly to explain the reasons why special interest attaches to this site. The conquest of the great eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties of Egyptian kings, in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries before Christ, extended over the greater part of Palestine and Syria, and even as far as Asia Minor. Amongst their most formidable opponents were the Kheta, a light-coloured hairless people, wearing high caps and dresses somewhat similar to those of the Assyrians, but specially distinguished by their pointed and turned up boots, like the modern Turkish slipper. The Kheta are by most antiquarians identified with the Hittites who inhabited Northern Syria (Josh. i, 4), and who had monarchs of their own in the time of Solomon (1 Kings x, 29; 2 Kings vii, 6). Thothmes III encountered these formidable mountaineers in his expedition against Meggido, and one of the pylons at Karnak, discovered by the late Mariette Bey, gives a list of towns, including the names of Kinnesrin, Aradus, Aleppo, and other places in Northern Syria conquered by Thothmes III after his subjugation of the plains of Palestine and Galilee.

The most important contest, was, however, that between Rameses II and the Hittites, in the fifth year of the Egyptian monarch's reign, when he marched against the city of Kadesh on Orontes. A formidable league was formed to oppose him. The Wysians, the Teurcians, the Dardanians, the inhabitants of Aradus, Aleppo, and Carchemish, and even the Trojans (Iluna), and the tribes of Mesopotamia (Naharain), are said to have gathered to the Hittite standard, with many other unknown tribes. On the hieroglyphic pictures the Semitic bearded allies are distinguished by dress and arms from the beardless Hittites, who are supposed by some antiquarians to have belonged to a Turanian or Turkoman race from Asia Minor, which had overrun and subjugated the fertile plains of the Orontes, and had even penetrated to the very borders of the Egyptian territory.

According to the ordinary chronology, the expedition of Rameses II occurred while Israel was being oppressed by Jabin, King of Hazar, with his chariots of iron; and, as it is clear from Egyptian records that the Canaanites were allies or tributaries of the Egyptians at this period, it is highly probable that the iron chariots came from Egypt, and belonged to that formidable force of chariots which Rameses brought up to the plains of Kadesh to subdue the Hittites. The route pursued by Rameses was no doubt controlled by the impossibility of crossing rugged mountains with a force of chariots, and the road which we know him to have followed either on his return or on his advance—and probably on both occasions—led along the sea-coast towards Tripoli, passing the Dog River north of Beyrout, where three tablets carved in the rocks by his order still exist.

Thothmes III, who had attacked Kadesh in the thirtieth year of his reign, founded a strong fortress near Aradus (er Rûad) and Zamira (es

Sumra, near the river Eleutherus), at the foot of Lebanon, and it seems probable that Rameses would have advanced from the same fortress—that is to say, from the Western Plain across the pass which separates the Lebanon from the Anseirîyeh mountains, and leads from Tripoli to Homs.

The town of Kadesh on Orontes is generally said to have been on an island in a lake; but the representation in the Ramesseum at Thebes of the great battle between Rameses II and the Hittites appears rather to show a fortress surrounded by a river, and situated not far from the borders of a lake. The name of this river in the hieroglyphs is Arunatha, or Hanruta, and the city is described as lying "on the western bank of Hanruta at the lake of the land of the Amorites."

The various references to Kadesh on Orontes were kindly collected for me in 1880 by the Rev. H. G. Tomkyns. The portion of the great battle-piece representing the town is to be found copied in Sir G. Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," vol. i, p. 257. The city is shown with a double moat crossed by bridges; on the left a broad stream flows to the lake, but on the right the piece is obliterated, and it is impossible to see whether the moat ran all round, or whether the town lay between the junction of two streams. Three higher and two smaller towers are shown, and the Hittite army occupies the ground to the left of the river, near the shores of the lake.

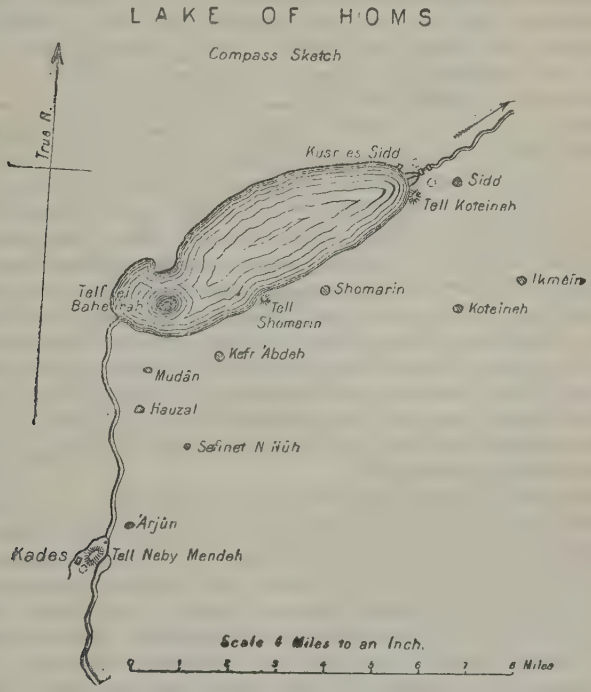
Mr. Tomkyns also called my attention to another representation of the town to be found in the Denkmäler of Lepsius (III, plates 158, 159), where the plan is a long oval with a single moat. Three high towers are seen projecting above the rest, and the moat leads downwards on the left, and also away on the right, no bridges being shown.

The lake, near or in which Kadesh stood, has long been identified with the Baheiret Homs, or Baheiret Koteineh, the lake 6 miles long and 2 miles broad, through which the Orontes passes between Riblah and Homs about 8 miles south-west of the latter town. This lake, according to Abu el Feda, the geographer, was called in his times Bahr et Kades; but the title is no longer known, and the actual site of Kadesh was doubtful. It is true that an island exists in this lake, but the Egyptian account of the fight cannot be understood easily on the supposition that this island, three-fourths of a mile distant from the shore, was the place attacked, and I was never able to understand the topography of the battle until, when standing on the true site of Kadesh, it became suddenly all clear.

The Egyptian army was arrayed south of the city of Shabatun, with the brigade of Amun behind and the brigade of Ra west of Shabatun. Shasu (or Arab) spies were here brought before the Pharaoh and gave false intelligence to the effect that the King of the Hittites was far away, near Aleppo, whereas he lay really in ambush behind the town of Kadesh. Rameses accordingly began to *descend* towards the region north-west of Kadesh, and there halted to rest. His scouts here informed him of the secret which they extorted from some Hittite prisoners, and the forces near Shabatun were ordered to advance. The King of the Hittites passed over the ditch south of Kadesh and fell upon and routed the brigade of Ra,

which retreated "on the road *upwards* to the place where the king was." Rameses was thus attacked on his right flank, and his retreat cut off by 2,500 chariots of the allies. He, however, charged the Hittites, and drove them before him to the Orontes, where many of their soldiers and chariots were lost, and where the king of Aleppo was drowned. The battle is said to have been "in the plain of the land of Kadesh." On the following morning, Rameses attacked the city, which yielded to him, and a peace was made with the Hittite king and written on a plate of silver, the text of which venerable treaty remains to the present day preserved in the official account of this campaign.

Such, then, was the problem to be solved—the discovery of a moated city on Orontes near the lake of Homs, in such a position as to agree with



the minute description of the Egyptian scribe. This site we lit upon unexpectedly in the important ancient city generally known as Tell Neby Mendeh, situated on the left bank of Orontes about four English miles south of the lake of Homs: for we discovered that the name Kades was known to all the inhabitants of the vicinity as applying to extensive ruins on the south side of this great Tell, while Neby Mendeh is the name of an important sacred shrine on the highest part of the hill, close to which a

small Arab village has now grown up. Not only is the name of Kadesh thus preserved, but in looking down from the summit of the Tell, we appeared to see the very double moat of the Egyptian picture, for while the stream of Orontes is dammed up so as to form a small lake, some 50 yards across on the south-east of the site, a fresh brook flows on the west and north to join the river, and an outer line of moat is formed by earthen banks, which flank a sort of aqueduct parallel with the main stream. The united waters flow northwards from the Tell, and fall into the lake of Homs. Thus only on the south is Kadesh not naturally protected with a wet ditch, and the moat may very possibly have formerly been completed by cutting a cross channel from Orontes to the northern stream.*

We spent some considerable time in examining this important site, and in taking compass observations from the Tell. The mound is remarkably conspicuous from all sides, and the view from the top is extensive. On the south the plain of the Bukâ'a is visible, stretching between the Lebanon and Antilebanon, as far as the ridge or shed on which the Kamû'a stands up against the sky-line. To the east is the rich fertile plain which extends from Orontes, some 20 miles, to the foot of the mountains, and the fine peaks above Palmyra, streaked with patches of snow, form the extreme distance. On the north-east the plains of Homs stretch to the horizon, and great Tells, the sites of buried cities, rise from the flat expanse, while a dusty mound, and a few white domes and minarets, with dark gardens to the left, mark the position of Homs itself. On the north the long narrow lake gleams between its shallow marshy shores, and three large Tells, one in the water, two on the eastern shore, are specially conspicuous. The north-west shore is bare and black, the basalt moors rising westwards, to form a long low ridge, and dotted here and there with black Turkoman encampments, while behind these downs is seen the distant chain of the Anseirîyeh mountains, with the great crusading fortress of Krak des Chevaliers (Kal'at el Hosn) in a conspicuous position on the heights.

To the south of these mountains a gap occurs, and on the west and south-west the ridge of Lebanon, with dusky brushwood and rocky spurs, rises to the snow-clad summit of the Cedars. The rich plateau east of the Orontes is scattered with mud villages, with here and there a group of poplars, but the basalt moors are almost entirely uncultivated. In the arable land a race of Fellahin, whose black beards and hooked noses bear a strong family likeness to the feature of the ancient Assyrians, as shown on the bas-reliefs, is settled; but the Turkomans, who may perhaps be considered to be the modern representatives of the Hittites, are encamped on the moors, and are found far west in the pastures below Kal'at el Hosn.

* Dr. Robinson states that the only traveller who had visited Tell Neby Mendeh in his time was Dr. Thomson, of Beyrout, who in 1846 found a ditch running from Orontes to the stream on the west (which he calls el Mukadiyeh). This ditch we did not see, but it possibly exists still rather further south than the point on which we followed the stream. Dr. Thomson especially notices that the Tell was thus isolated on an island between the two streams.

The scene is perhaps almost unchanged from that on which Rameses looked down as he crossed the western watershed and descended to the south-west shores of the Hittite lake ; and the same mixture of Turanian and Semitic nationalities which students trace on the walls of the Rameseum is still observable by the traveller in the vicinity of Kadesh.

Dr. Robinson, whose journey only extended as far north as Riblah, identifies the site of Tell Neby Mendeh with the Laodicea of Lebanon (also called Laodicea Scabiosa), mentioned by Ptolemy and Polybius, and shown on the Peutinger Tables. The distance from Homs, and the fact that Polybius mentions a lake and marshes near this Laodicea, serve to confirm this identification, which does not in any way interfere with the supposition that the town was formerly called Kadesh. Laodicea ad Libanum (as it is called by Strabo and Pliny) was one of the six towns named by Seleucus Micator (about 300 B.C.) in honour of his mother Laodice ; and the fact that the site at Neby Mendeh was that of an ancient capital of the district, would naturally have commended it to the Greek monarch, while at the present day we find, as in so many other cases in Palestine, that the ancient Semitic appellation has survived the more modern foreign title, and that Laodicea is once more known as Kadesh.

Tell Neby Mendeh is a great mound without any trace of rock—so far as we could see—extending about 400 yards in a direction about 40° east of true north. The highest part is on the north-east, where is a Moslem graveyard looking down on gardens in the flat tongue between the two streams. The height is here perhaps 100 feet above the water. On the south-west the mound sinks gradually into the plough land. The village is situated about the middle of the Tell, with the shrine of Neby Mendeh —a large square building with a very white dome, at the north-west angle of the group of houses, which are rudely built of basalt chips in mortar, with mud roofs. Large mud ovens are erected east of the village. On the south-west, at the stream of el Mukadîyeh, is the Tâhûnet Kades, a modern mill built of older materials, chiefly of basalt, and immediately north of this the brook is crossed by a bridge of one arch, while a second arch crosses the outer channel or aqueduct, these bridges being just in the same position in which they appear on the Egyptian picture, and while on the one hand they are of modern masonry, on the other they lead to roads, the line of which is probably unaltered. The stream is fresh and flows quickly ; we saw a good many fish swimming in it, and fragments of column shafts lay on the ground near the mill and the bridges.

The principal ruins are on the flat ground east of the mill. Here in 1864 Dr. Thomson found the peasants breaking up the stones ; and long trenches have been dug, from which blocks of limestone have been excavated and carried away. The ground is strewn with chips of limestone and basalt, and fragments of pottery all over the ploughland. A piece of wall is still standing, built of small rubble in hard mortar, which is full of pounded pottery and charcoal, while courses of thin well-burnt bricks, like those used by the Romans, are built in between the courses of rubble. Still further east are the foundations of a building called el Kamû'a,

about 50 feet square, with remains of a doorway in the south-east corner. Some broken pillar shafts lie near, and the walls appear to have been ornamented with pilasters in low relief, the details of which, as well as those of a fragment of cornice, resemble the moulding at Kamû'a el Hirmil. These probably are remains of the Laodicea of later times, for even in the early Christian period this city was the see of a bishop.

Recrossing the western bridges we followed the stream of el Mukadîyeh southwards, and found lying in a field a fragment of sculpture representing a seated figure without head or shoulders. It was of very rude execution, and probably not very ancient. No inscription was visible on the stone.

Crossing to the south of the village we regained the great dam with sluices which is built right across the Orontes, at the foot of the Tell on the east. It occupies the position of the eastern bridge shown in the Egyptian picture, and though the masonry is apparently modern, the foundations may perhaps be ancient. The mill on the dam has several fragments of ancient masonry built into its walls, and the door lintel has a curious design, with an Arab inscription much defaced, and a central circle enclosing what appears to be a sabre or cutlass.

Near the eastern end of the dam—which is some 25 yards or more in length—a Greek tombstone has been built into the causeway, and had apparently been lately excavated. The following letters were very clearly legible on the stone which lies on its side :—

OABI
TYMBOCEΠΕΙ ....
MACEΛΑΥΑΧΕΝΑΓΝ
AMMAIᑕHNAΔEIΠA
TPIEC . . OCYNHC
TEPEIAN
ETΩN
NA

So far as a cursory examination throws light on the text, it would appear to have belonged to a priest of Emesa (Αμμιασην), and to contain his age at the time of his death (*NA*). This inscription proves the late period of construction of the upper part of the masonry in the dam.

The inhabitants of the village were quite unaccustomed to seeing Franks, and much alarmed at our appearance accompanied by soldiers. They denied that any inscriptions existed on the spot, and would not allow that they had ever found coins or other antiquities in digging. Nevertheless, I have rarely met with any site which seemed more likely to repay careful examination, and it seems highly probable that, if a mine could be driven through the Tell, Hittite remains might be discovered. It is just such a mount which has lately, at Jerâblûs (the northern Hittite capital of Carchemish on Euphrates), produced the valuable sculptures now in the British Museum. The interest taken by Professor Sayce and other learned authorities in the recovery of monuments similar to the

Hamath stones and the inscriptions of Carchemish and Asia Minor, would, I think, lead them to attach great importance to a complete examination of the ruins at the site of Kadesh, which, it will, I think, be generally admitted we have now at last recovered. The suggestion that the Hamath stones were of Hittite origin, was, I believe, first put forward in 1873 by the Rev. W. Wright, of Damascus, and it is now generally admitted on the authority of Professor Sayce. The Hamath stones were cut in basalt, and the chief material used in the village houses at Tell Neby Mendeh is the same—a hard compact volcanic stone. It is possible that a minute examination of the village buildings, and of the interior of the shrine of Neby Mendeh, might result in the discovery of inscribed stones even above the surface; but we were unable to see or hear of any such during our visit.

Tell Neby Mendeh appears to be a sacred site of great antiquity, and this again is not unnatural when we reflect that the name Kadesh itself indicates a "sacred" city consecrated to the sun-god, or to his consort Astarte. Neby Mendeh is said to have been a son of "Our Lord Jacob," though which of the twelve tribes, is intended—unless the word be a corruption of Manasseh—it is not easy to understand. The spring from which the tributary stream of el Mukadîyeh flows is called et Tannur ("the Oven") a term applied (I believe in the Koran itself) to a certain deep chasm, whence, according to Moslem tradition, the waters of the Deluge first broke forth; and it is evident that a tradition of Noah's flood still exists in connection with the Tell and the lake, for some three miles north of the Tell and east of the river there is a curious site, known as Sefinet Neby Nûh, "the Ark of the Prophet Noah."

It is a great platform of earth, some 300 yards square, with small mounds at the four angles, as if representing the remains of towers. It is surrounded with a ditch about 40 feet deep and wide. No traces of masonry are visible, and the platform is covered with furrows, having been converted into a ploughed field by the peasantry. The direction of the sides is about north-east and south-west. An ancient road runs northwards, a little to the west, and on this, close to 'Arjûn, about half-a-mile from Tell Neby Mendeh, we found a Roman milestone lying fallen—another detail which favours the identification of the Tell with the Laodicea of the Itineraries.

Before quitting the subject of Kadesh on Orontes, a word must be said as to the position of Shabatuna, the place whence Rameses II advanced to attack the Hittite capital. This town or fortress was situated north of the position occupied by the most advanced brigade of the Egyptian army. Rameses, at sunrise, went further upwards, and arrived south of Shabatuna; he then went "further downwards," and came to the vicinity of the lake. The defeated brigade of Rameses retreated "on the road upwards to the place where the king was." The final advance on Kadesh was made in the evening, and the Hittites were driven into the Orontes.

Now all these indications of topographical features are easily explained on the supposition that Rameses was advancing by the pass which leads

from the plains of Tripoli to the lake of Homs. It is evident that in an advance of some 15 or 20 miles from the vicinity of Shabatuna, the Pharaoh crossed a ridge and descended into the plains north-west of Kadesh, near the southern shores of the Hittite lake.

Just such a ridge intervenes between the broad plains of Homs and the small basin called el Bukei'a, which lies west of the watershed, and which is commanded by the castle on the mountain to the north, the great stronghold Kal'at el Hosn. The lake of Homs is some 1,500 or 1,600 feet above the Mediterranean, and the top of the basalt ridge forming the pass is probably about 2,000 feet above the same level. The Bukei'a basin, which is a fertile plain about 5 miles wide, full of springs, which feed the river Eleutherus, dotted with clumps of oak and covered with Turkoman encampments, is surrounded with basalt hills, 400 to 500 feet high. The great Crusading fortress, on its steep limestone ridge, looks down on the whole region. To the west, the Mediterranean is seen beyond the low hills, and the broad seaside plain ; to the south, the spurs of Lebanon rise from the Bukei'a basin ; to the south-east, the greater part of the lake of Homs is seen, with two black mounds, one being the Tell Neby Mendeh, the other the island in the lake itself.

A narrow pass is seen leading through the basalt ridge from the western basin to the long flat eastern slope which stretches to the borders of the lake. In the Bukei'a basin, south of Kal'at el Hosn, a suitable situation for the great camp of the Egyptian armies might be found. By the eastern pass Rameses would have ascended and again descended in a distance of some 15 miles before reaching the battle-field. On the west an equally easy line of advance would have brought the Egyptian reinforcements from the sea-coast to the Bukei'a basin. The question thus naturally suggests itself whether Kal'at el Hosn may not stand on the site of Shabatuna, and of that fortress at the foot of Lebanon built by Thothmes III., not far from the river Eleutherus.

I find that this identification has already been proposed in 1874 in a paper communicated by M. Blanche, the French Vice-Consul at Tripoli, to the Institut Egyptien, on 7th August, and, through the kindness of this gentleman, I am able to give the arguments in favour of this view, which agree with the discovery of Kadesh at Tell Neby Mendeh.

The last syllable Na, in the name Shabatuna, is probably an Egyptian affix, such as was commonly added to Semitic words. The word to be understood is the Hebrew Shabat, or Sabbath, which, in modern Arabic, would take the form Sebta, "rest" (as in the case of the Ballûtet Sebta at Hebron). Now, immediately north of Kal'at el Hosn is the deep gorge in which the white monastery of St. George, with its red-tiled roof, is seen nestling; and about a mile below the monastery is the wonderful intermittent spring whence rises the Nahr es Sebta, or "River of Rest," the Sabbatic river of the ancients (see "Wars," vii, 5, 1), which still flows on an average once a week from its cavern. Here, then, in the immediate vicinity of Kal'at el Hosn, the name Shabat still exists, and is known from remote period to have always existed, and there seems, therefore, no

good reason to doubt that the fortress of the Crusaders occupied the site of an older Egyptian stronghold commanding the important pass from the sea-coast to Tripoli.

Our attention, after leaving the site of Kadesh, was devoted to the examination of the lake itself, which is generally allowed to be mainly and perhaps altogether artificial. We visited the shore at the point nearest to the island, which is called Tell el Baheirah, "The Mound of the Lake." The shore is flat and marshy; the island is about three quarters of a mile from the mainland, and perhaps a quarter of a mile in length. We found it to be entirely laid out in gardens, which are cultivated with a mattock. A few huts (el Mezr'ah) exist on the south-west, the peasantry crossing over on rafts formed of inflated skins, which are, however, only large enough for one man each, and quite unmanageable in a wind. Three of these rafts we saw, on each of which a man stood punting with a long pole, and drifting eastwards to the shore. We were informed that it would take five hours to make a raft, and that with the wind in the west the island could not be reached from that side of the lake—if, indeed, the raft could be used at all. The idea of constructing boats or large rafts to convey animals seems never to have occurred to the natives; but my interest in the island was much lessened by the previous discovery of the site of Kadesh on the mainland. There is no reference in the Egyptian records to any attack on an island situate at so great a distance from the shore—no account of rafts or boats; while the picture of Kadesh shows a double moat with bridges, indicating a river rather than a lake; for the Hittites can scarcely be supposed, even if we consider the scale of the Egyptian picture to be distorted, to have constructed bridges nearly a mile in length, from the island to the shore, as would be necessary if this part of the lake were as wide at that time as it now is.

Leaving the island, therefore, unvisited, we rode along the right bank of the lake, near which there are several mud villages and fine corn-fields and lentil patches. Tell Shomarîn is a conspicuous green mound on the edge of the water, and Tell Koteineh a larger one, with a flat top and evidently artificial. Excavations in these Tells, as well as in two others bstween Kadesh and the lake, might lead to interesting results. On the north-east there are low cliffs of white limestone, but on the north-western shore the basalt appears to come down almost to the water, and the only traces of habitation are a few miserable ruins of basaltic stone, among which the Turkoman encampments are spread out.

Our camp was pitched close to the Sidd, or great dam, which was built across the mouth of the lake, and which banked up the waters to a height of 10 feet above the level of the original river bed. The existence of the lake is mainly, if not altogether, due to the construction of this fine engineering work, and the original "Lake of the Land of the Amorites" would probably only have occupied the southern or upper part of the present basin, where the shores are flattest.

The view from the Sidd in the evening was interesting, though not remarkably picturesque. The flat basaltic slopes on the right, concealed

the pass by which Rameses approached. On the south-west, the black mounds of Kadesh and of the island were conspicuous, and Lebanon, with its snowy ridge, rose behind them. A strong breeze blew down the lake, which was covered with tiny "white horses," and broke in surf on its shingly shore. Great piles of cumulus towered above the mountains, and a flock of pelicans was soaring over the water, flapping slowly against the wind.

The lake of Homs is mentioned by Talmudic writers under its present name as Yam Hemetz (Tal. Jer. Kilaim, lx, 5 ; Tal. Bab. Baba Bathra 74 *b*), and the Rabbis state that it was not a natural lake, but a reservoir formed by Diocletian at the junction of several rivers. In the time of Abu el Feda tradition ascribed the building of the dam to the favourite Arab hero, Alexander the Great ; but while we have evidence that the construction dates from the early Christian centuries, at latest, we have no sound reason for supposing that the Hittites were the original engineers of the dam. The object of constructing this great work was that of heading up the waters of the Orontes for the purpose of irrigating the plains round Homs. A great aqueduct between earthen banks (after the Egyptian and Chaldean fashion) leads from the east end of the Sidd to the gardens of Homs. Similar channels once existed west of the stream, and other earthen aqueducts occur near Kadesh ; and again, further south, running across the cultivated plain from the Orontes, which flows west of it.

We examined the Sidd or dam carefully, but the waves were breaking over it, and the water was rushing through the ruined sluice and through the gaps in the masonry, so that it was impossible so early in the year to walk along it. The total length is about half a mile, and the thickness 25 feet at the top. The dam is built in the shape of a very flat V with the point towards the lake. The difference of level between the lake surface and the stream below the dam is as nearly as possible 10 feet. On the outer or lower side, the thickness is increased by stepping the masonry regularly in each course. On the inside the construction is probably the same. The masonry is a coursed rubble of flat pieces of basalt, undressed, set in hard white mortar full of pounded pottery, with a little charcoal. The rubble was originally faced with small ashlar, also of basalt. There were at the western end buttresses on the lower side at frequent intervals. Near the centre of the dam there appears to be a pillar or vertical pier of masonry. This could not, however, be reached. The general impression obtained, by comparing the masonry with other monuments I have examined in Palestine, is, that the whole structure is Roman work ; and the Talmudic story, which attributes the dam to Diocletian, may perhaps be founded on fact.

There were several sluices and passages for the water, and masonry aqueducts leading off at different levels. The various streams now run at will, from all sides, and unite to form the main stream of Orontes at the mills about half a mile below the dam. At the west end of the dam a small mediæval tower has been built on a solid rubble base. It consists of a vaulted chamber with an upper story without roof. The walls are

battlemented ; the total height is 28 feet ; the exterior measures 28 feet by 25 feet on plan. There are loopholed windows, and on the east a doorway 8 feet from the ground, the lintel of which consists of an inscribed block of basalt, which has been built in sideways, and is evidently not *in situ ;* the inscription is boldly cut on a sort of tablet surmounted with a rosette, possibly meant for a cross in a circle, but much worn by the weather. The text is as below, and may possibly have some connection with the history of the dam. Of the tower and the lintel-stone we took careful measurements, plans, and sketches, as well as of the masonry of the dam. The inscription is perfect, and too well preserved to allow of any hesitation in transcribing.

ΕΤΟΥ
ϹΗΛΥ
ΙΑΔ
ΛΑΙ
ΟϹΙΑΛΛΕ
ΟΥΑΛΥΙΙ
ΕΧΑΙΡΕ

It contains a date, and appears to be of early Byzantine origin, from the form of the letters—as compared with the dated inscriptions of the Hauran, collected by Waddington.

A small town once stood on either bank of the Orontes below the Sidd. Tradition says that the village Sidd (which takes its name from the "dam") was removed from this site to its present position down on the small Survey which accompanies this report. There are five basalt shafts 32 inches in diameter, lying about 300 yards from the little town, which is called Kusr es Sidd, on the left bank of the river. They at present surround a modern tomb made of mud and stones, and covered with rags stuck on little stakes, so as to form streamers. A stone cut into the shape of an arch 3 feet 2 inches diameter, and 1 foot thick (a single block of basalt) has been laid on the south side of the tomb to form a kibleh, and piles of basalt chips are heaped up on the fallen pillar-shafts. The site is thus evidently a sacred shrine, to which pilgrimages are made, and it is called "Jerîyet Aly," "the slave of Aly." Probably this modern Wely marks the spot where a small temple was once dedicated, perhaps by the builders of the Sidd.

Such are the main results of our visit to Kadesh on Orontes, including the recovery of the name at a site which fully agrees with the monumental records, and with the topographical notices which are to be found in the great Court Epic of Pentaur ; the recovery of traditions showing the site to be an ancient sacred place ; the exploration of the lake and dam ; and the examination of the site of Shabatuna and of the route of the Egyptian advance. The Survey of the lake is laid down from compass observations taken at various points, and the eastern shore may be looked upon as well fixed, while the western shore is more roughly indicated.

Appendix.

[In connection with the discovery of Kadesh may be read Professor Sayce's learned paper on the "Monuments of the Hittites," published in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology (vol. vii, Part II). These remains and inscriptions—the reading of which will probably throw as much light upon the early history of the Bible as the cuneiform inscriptions have already done—are found scattered over a wide area: at Karabel, on the road from Ephesus to Sardes, which shows that they extended as far as the seaboard; in Central Asia Minor, Cilicia, Phrygia, and Lycaonia; at Aleppo, Carchemish, and Hamath, in the earliest times the "children of Heth" were in the south of Palestine. This sacred city on the Orontes has now been found; of Jerusalem itself it is said (Ezek. xvi, 3) that her "father was an Amorite and her mother a Hittite." As regards the characteristics of Hittite art, they are thus described by Professor Sayce:—

"It is modelled upon the bas-reliefs of Nineveh, or rather the gems of ancient Babylonia, and like them represents human figures and other objects in relief upon stone. But it has a peculiar roundness and thickness; the limbs of the figures are short and thick, and there is little attempt made to delineate the muscles. The feet are shod with boots which have the ends turned up, the head is usually covered with the so-called Phrygian cap, and a spear is often placed in one hand. A modification of the winged solar disk of Assyria is not unusual, and at Eyuk we find a representation of a doubled-headed eagle, which seems the prototype of the Seljukian eagle of later days. At Eyuk also we have two sphinxes, which, though modelled on an Egyptian model, differ profoundly from the Egyptian type, while the mode in which the feet are represented reminds us of the prehistoric statue of Niobe on Mount Sipylus. At Boghaz Keui, the female deities wear mural crowns, from which we may infer the Hittite origin of this decoration of the Ephesian Artemis. The mural crown seems to have been a specially Hittite invention. On the other hand, the general character of the sculptures at Boghaz Keui, where some of the deities, for instance, are represented as standing upon animals, shows its dependence not on Assyrian, but on early Babylonian art."

As regards their history, it is learned from Assyrian and Egyptian monuments that they were the leading people of Western Asia from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries B.C. Their city of Kadesh, so curiously found by Lieutenant Conder, disappears from history after the thirteenth century B.C. Their city of Carchemish (now Jnabis) was finally captured by Sargon, B.C. 717, when it became the seat of an Assyrian Satrap. Their connection with the Bible narrative is well known.

Professor Sayce is of opinion that the Hittites did not speak a Semitic language: and that they did not belong to the Semitic race. "Their features and physical type are those of a northern people, and their northern origin is confirmed by their use of boots, which is, at least, as old

as the beginning of their writing, since the boot is the commonest of the Hittite hieroglyphics. The boots are always represented with turned up toes, like the boots of the mountaineers of Asia Minor and Greece at the present day."—ED.]

HOMS.

From the lake we rode to the city of Homs, where we remained for the Sunday. I made such inquiries as were possible respecting the site of the famous Sun Temple at this place, of which the Roman Emperor Heliogabalus was high priest, but no known remains exist, although Homs is full of ancient pillars and stones, with Greek inscriptions. A possible site is the great mound of the fortress south of the town, where a sacred place called Mes-haf 'Othmân still stands. The great mosque contains the remains of the basilica built by Constantine ; several of the pillar bases being *in situ*, while capitals of early Byzantine character are scattered about the courtyard. On one of the bases we were shown the following inscription :

ΚΥΚΛΟΤΕΡΗC ΚΟCΜΟΙΟ ΤΥΠΟC ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΕΚΟ . .
ΕΘΝΕΑΠΑΙΠ ΑΜ ΧΟΝΤΑCΟΦΑΙCΦ ΡΕCΙΝΗΝΙΟΧ . .

KALAT EL HOSN.

Our return journey from Homs led along Midhat Pasha's new road, north-west of the lake, and we made a long detour to visit the magnificent castle Kal'at el Hosn, which has been already described and explored by M. Rey. It is probably the finest specimen of Crusading work in Syria, and almost perfect, the battlements and machicoulis still remaining in place. We made a collection of masons' marks, some of which are unlike any previously collected in other parts of Palestine. Many of these occur on drafted stones, the drafts having (as at Sôba and in other instances) the diagonal dressing distinctive of mediæval work. This is an additional instance of the fact (which has not as yet been generally grasped) that the Crusading masons in Syria, as in Cyprus and other places, made use of the draft in masonry which they themselves hewed. It has often been supposed that such masonry was always more ancient, and was re-used by the Crusaders ; but the presence of masons' marks on the drafted stones, and that such stones are often cut in the form of voussoirs for pointed arches, seem conclusively to prove that drafted masonry was actually cut by the twelfth century builders for use in their fortress walls.

There is a finely executed Gothic inscription on the walls of the chapel at Kal'at el Hosn. I find, however, that it has already been deciphered by M. Rey. The text, which has many abbreviations, reads :—

Sit tibi Copia.
Sit Sapientia
Formaque detur
Inquinat Omnia
Sola Superbia
Si Comitetur.

Tripoli.

From Kal'at el Hosn, we travelled to Tripoli, where we were detained by the storm, and were most kindly and hospitably received by M. Blanche, the French Vice-Consul. From him I gathered many interesting traditions and other indications connected with the neighbourhood. We also visited the Dancing Derwish Monastery, and were much interested in the details of the symbolism observable in the performance, which, as is generally allowed, had its origin in an astronomical worship, the tradition of which is, however, apparently lost to the performers.

The ancient name of Tripoli is unknown, but the name Kadîshah, applying to the river on which it is built, may indicate that here also an ancient Kadesh is to be sought. North of the town is the sacred shrine of el Bedâwa, which M. Blanche assures me was an old church of St. Anthony of Padua, of whose title the Arab is a corruption.

In the courtyard is a basin or tank containing fish, which are held sacred by the Moslems. Vows and offerings are made to them, and in time of war they are said to disappear, and to depart to fight for the Prophet against the infidels, returning to Tripoli on the conclusion of peace. This occurred even during the late war with Russia, and no doubt accounts for the successful defence of Plevna. M. Péretié, at Beyrout, assures me that there is another tank of these sacred fish at Acre, in the great mosque, and when we remember the sacred fish of the lake of Derceto at Ascalon, and the sacred bath of Venus mentioned in the Mishna as existing at Acre, there seems good reason to suppose that in these traditions we have the survival of the Dagon and Derceto worship of the Phœnicians.

Several other curious traditions have been related to me recently and carefully noted, but the only other point of interest for which space can be found in this long report is the curious chapel of Marîna, south of Tripoli, to which our attention was drawn by M. Blanche, and which we visited on our way down the coast.

Marina.

A ledge of limestone, with a rock-wall facing east, and curving out above so as to form a natural roof, here constitutes a narrow platform with a rock-screen, which has been at one time covered with frescoes painted on a coating of cement. The greater part of the cement has fallen off, but one row of designs with inscriptions is left. A niche in the wall formed a sort of apse, and seems still to be used, for the blackened stone gave evidence that some kind of lamp had recently been burnt before the picture. The place seems to have belonged to a hermitage, and various caves and rock-excavations were visible to the south. A pit, as if for a tomb, is sunk at one end of the platform, and another smaller recess under an arcosolium occurs in the rock-wall.

The frescoes were originally painted in a series of square partitions,

but at a later period a large head has been painted over the older designs, and is flanked with coarse letters nearly double the size of the older inscriptions. The designs are as follow, commencing on the right :

First panel.—A saint visiting another saint represented as in bed, while a third figure, also with a nimbus, stands behind ; the saint raises his hand as though about to heal the invalid. Above, in Gothic characters, carefully painted in white on a blue ground, are the letters PATMRSS.

Second Panel.—A child with a nimbus, brought by a long-robed figure on the right to another saint on the left. The older inscription is nearly illegible, but the Gothic letters remaining of it read thus :

. . . PTSABATS

SPE. . .

Over the lower line a larger inscription has been painted in characters and with contractions similar to those found in the thirteenth century inscriptions at Bethlehem.

AH MITPIOC

Third Panel.—A robed saint with nimbus, kneeling to a second on the right, who appears to extend a cloak or some similar article towards him.

The Gothic inscription is mutilated, but the letters remaining are SICUT – – LO – – IT : ANTE ABATE PROTE – – FILIA – – SUAM : beneath which is the remainder of the Greek inscription on panel No. 2, viz. :

ΟΑΓΙΟC

Fourth Panel.—Two long-robed figures, with nimbi, are standing in conversation. The Gothic inscription is almost illegible, the words GEORGII – – NIRIA alone being plainly recoverable.

Fifth Panel.—A large design of the Saviour, seated, with the Virgin to the right (spectator's left), and Joseph to the left. The panel measures 72 inches in length by 30 in height. The original Gothic inscriptions read MATER and AS IOSEPH ABTI, over which the Greek texts appear, much contracted, but reading Μητης θεου and Ιω. on either side of the four letters IC. XC. (Jesus Christ).

Sixth Panel.—A man in a tree bearing apples ; beneath is a hart or stag ; and some native visitor has added a lion in black ink, and signed his sketch in Arabic.

Seventh Panel.—A nimbus only is left, with an inscription in Gothic letters above, ANUNCIAT : VIRGOMARIA, showing that the design represented the Annunciation. The Greek letters, *MP*...ΘΥ ("Mother of God") are scrawled across the Latin inscription, and the whole of the fresco is thus converted into a kind of pictorial palimpsest.

Eighth Panel.—A saint, with a hammer, probably Christ as the carpenter. There is no Gothic lettering visible, but the Greek reads thus :

ΗΑΠΜΑΡΙΑ

This, though much confused, is evidently to be rendered H. Αγια Μαρια, and belongs to the design on the seventh panel to the right.

We took a sketch with dimensions of these frescoes, and a rough plan

of the place. In sheet XVIII of the "Memoirs" a similar case will be found (Section B., s. v. Deir el Kelt), where inscriptions of two periods occur above one another. The Latin inscriptions at Marîna cannot well be earlier than the twelfth century, and the character of the Greek letters appears to belong to the thirteenth—as determined by M. du Vogüé.

Returning from Tripoli by land to Beyrout, we found Messrs. Black and Armstrong awaiting us, and commenced our active preparation for the Eastern Survey. Meantime I may, in conclusion, express my conviction that a most interesting field of operations awaits the archæologist almost untouched in Northern Syria.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E.

II.

JERUSALEM, *24th May*, 1881.

IN marching down the coast from Beyrout to Jerusalem, we halted for two days at Tyre, for the purpose of investigating more closely the various points which have given rise to discussion in connection with its topography. The most important of these are: 1st, the extent of the ancient city; 2nd, the position of the Egyptian harbour; 3rd, the site of the Temple of Melkarth; 4th, the extent and situation of Palæ Tyrus.

I.—THE ANCIENT SITE OF TYRE.

It is generally agreed that the original city stood on the islands and reefs which were separated from the shore by a channel, filled up by the mound which Alexander the Great constructed during the course of his famous siege of Tyre. Two islands originally existed, and are traditionally believed to have been connected by a mound, constructed by Hiram, the contemporary of Solomon. A careful inspection seems to lead to the conclusion that very little, if any, subsequent change has occurred since this connecting mound was made, and that the smaller island, which then lay south of the main reef, is represented by the promontory which projects at the sea corner of the present headland, enclosed by the Crusading walls. That the reefs presented in the middle ages the same outline as at present, seems to be clearly indicated by the line of the 12th century fortifications, which rise close to the cliffs from the flat ledges of rock existing everywhere, both on the west and on the south. The promontory, representing the smaller island, rises some 30 or 40 feet above the sea, and is bounded by cliffs of soft sandy limestone above the flat reefs. There are no indications of any artificial alterations on these cliffs, and it seems very improbable that the action of the sea can have materially diminished the area of the island, for on the south, as will be seen immediately, the remains of the Egyptian harbour are clearly

traceable, while all along the west the reefs have been hewn, with great patience and ingenuity, so as to form a series of small harbours, landing-places for boats, and shallow docks, &c., salt-pans, which are probably attributable to the early Phœnician period of Tyrian prosperity. In one place only on the west is the line of reefs broken, by a little round bay with a fine sandy beach measuring some 70 yards in depth, and perhaps 100 yards across north-east and south-west. It is probable that the original channel, dividing the small southern island from the larger one, here ran out on the west. On the south also there is a corresponding bay, but much shallower, measuring about 200 yards east and west, which may define the limits of the smaller island on the east. The area thus limited appears originally to have included about four or five acres. On this islet stood a temple, which the Greeks called that of Jupiter Olympius. A sarcophagus measuring 7 feet by 5 feet 10 inches and 2 feet 5 inches in height (outside dimensions) lies on the smaller island. It is quite plain, and cubical in shape, with a pillow for the head of the corpse cut inside at one end.

The western flat reefs, below the Crusading walls, extending to the north-west end of the larger island, present many points of interest. Fragments of the mediæval fortifications, rubble masonry bonded with pillar shafts of granite and syenite, lie fallen upon them. The rise of the tide (about 18 inches) brings the water, on a calm day, almost on a level with the reefs, and in stormy weather they must be partially covered. In the summer, however, safe landing places, and channels for small boats, occur in every direction, many bearing signs of having been artificially enlarged and altered, while in other parts there are remains of an ancient concrete pavement, full of fragments of pottery, which seems to have been spread over the sharp and uneven ridges, to form an open quay close to shore. In one place there is a basin some 3 feet deep and 40 to 50 yards long, surrounded on all sides by the reef. It has no entrance, but a boat could be easily dragged over the narrow rock-mole on the outside, and the basin would thus form a rude dock for the smaller craft in summer time. North of this, on a somewhat higher level, are the basins called *Burak es Salîb*, "Pools of the Cross"—four large salt-pans divided by cross-walls of rock some 3 feet thick. One of these pools measured 35 feet by 22 feet, the depth being about 3 or 4 feet apparently. These excavations were full of sea water, but are no longer used as salt-pans. Many smaller pans exist close by, and in other places along the reefs, resembling those at 'Ath lît, which are still known by their proper name, *el Mellâhah*.*

Near the north-west angle of the reefs there is a heap of fallen pillar shafts, which, though quite black externally, show, when broken, a fine pink granite. They are some 2 feet in diameter, and look at first sight

* It may be remarked that the existence of these salt-pans and jetties forms an argument—were a new one needed—against the exploded notion of the partial submergence of the site of Tyre in consequence of earthquake shocks—an error which seems to have originated in the account given by Benjamin of Tudela.—C. R. C.

like the remains of a small shrine on the reef, but possibly they may have been collected by the Crusaders for use in the walls, or for the construction of a jetty, like those which they formed at Cæsarea, Ascalon, &c., and even at Tyre itself in the Egyptian harbour, and they may thus have been left unused in their present position.

The above observations along the reefs seems to indicate that the Phœnician port included, not only the two main harbours on north and south, but also a series of quays, landing-places, and small harbours, on the west. On the east the accumulation of blown sand on the mound of Alexander has rendered the extent of the original site doubtful; but it seems probable that the line of the Crusading walls on this side, founded as they probably are on rock, would mark approximately the limits of the island. Within this line—which is indicated by the position of the Algerine Tower in the Orange Gardens on the south-east, and by the small mediæval tower on the north-east of the city, which contains a well, and is partly built of rustic masonry, such as the Crusaders used—the ground is everywhere covered with fragments of broken masonry and pillar shafts. The inhabitants use this open space, east of the modern town, as a quarry, digging down to a depth of 10 or 15 feet, and excavating good building stones. Small gems, Cufic and Byzantine coins, and other antiquities are often found, belonging apparently to the early Christian period; and a hoard of gold coins is said to have been lately discovered, but of what epoch I was unable to learn.

The total area which seems thus to have been enclosed, within the insular site formed by joining the two islands, is little short of 200 acres; and considering the small size of all the famous cities of Phœnicia (Sidon, Byblos or Aradus, the latter only occupying 100 acres) this appears amply sufficient for the site of a town, even of the importance of Tyre.

It would not be difficult to sink shafts beneath the superficial excavations now made by the townspeople, and results of interest might probably be expected at a depth of some 30 feet; but, in any further explorations at Tyre, it would seem clear that the only place where excavation would be likely to succeed, is in that part of the site which lies east and south-east of the present town, within the area of the Crusading walls.

As regards the necropolis of ancient Tyre, we made an interesting discovery. The modern graveyard occupies the ground north of the smaller island, and in this part there is a cliff, bounding the little bay already mentioned on the south-west side of the larger island. About 6 feet above the beach is a narrower cleft, which has been, I believe, recently broken through, or enlarged by the *fellahîn*. We squeezed into it with difficulty, and found within a grotto, which had been pointed out to us under the name *Mughâret el Mujâhed*, "Cave of the Champion." There seems little doubt that it is an ancient tomb, a domed cave about 8 feet by 10 feet, and 11 feet high. A shaft exists above, the roof being covered in with flat slabs of stone, which were all in place. No sarcophagus remains, and, unless the shaft has been at some time or other opened and again closed, no sarcophagus can ever have been placed in the chamber.

There is on the north-east side a flat shelf or step, measuring 5 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 2 inches, on which, perhaps, the sarcophagus or coffin may have rested. No remains of wood or bones were noticed on the floor. The roof of the cavern is probably some 20 feet below the present surface of the ground on the top of the cliff. The discovery of this tomb, with the shaft arrangement which distinguishes the Phœnician from the ancient Jewish tombs, seems to indicate the possible existence of an old Phœnician cemetery, in the cliffs under and near the modern graveyard; and this may account for the puzzling circumstance that the island city had no apparent necropolis. Remains of sunk places in the rocks immediately south of the cave may, perhaps, represent other tombs which have been destroyed in quarrying, but it is possible that some of these are salt-pans. In accordance with the ordinary conservatism of the East, I may, perhaps, suggest that the features of modern Tyre preserve ancient Phœnician localities. That the necropolis is unchanged; that the site of the great temple is indicated by the ruined cathedral; and that the Eurychoros, or "wide-place," may have been identical with the broad Meidân, which is now found inside the line of the Crusading walls, and west of the modern town or village. The necropolis of Tyre was sought by Renan at the important cemetery in the hills east of the plain, a distance of nearly two miles; but it seems probable that, although in later times the rich may have hewn their sepulchres on the mainland, the older tombs, at the time when (according to Pliny) a strait, 700 passus broad, divided the island from the shore, would have been hewn in the cliffs of the reef, and still exist buried some 20 feet beneath the modern graveyard.

II.—The Egyptian Harbour.

The opinion of Renan and other writers appears to be that the ancient southern harbour of Tyre is no longer traceable;* and it is stated by Professor Socin that the supposed mole, on the south side of the town, was more probably the boundary of a piece of land artificially reclaimed from the sea. We gave considerable attention to this question during our recent visit. Lieutenant Mantell and I examined the mole and the harbour by swimming across it in various directions, thus ascertaining the depths, and closely inspecting the portions furthest from land; and the conclusion at which we arrived was different from that of the authorities mentioned, being to the effect that the harbour is distinctly recoverable, and that the only changes which have taken place are due to the wilful blocking up of the inlets to the port, and to the filling in with stones of portions of the interior; over which stones the sand has now

* Lieutenant Conder, writing without books at hand, has here fallen into a slight error. Renan does not think that the Egyptian port is no longer traceable. He supposes that the site generally proposed, and accepted by Lieut. Conder as the Egyptian port, was formerly a part of the island, and that the mole was a retaining wall. He places the Egyptian port farther east, and supposes that it has now been entirely silted up. (*See* Renan, "Phœnicie," p. 569, and "Memoirs of the Survey," vol. i, sheet 1, § B.)—Ed.

drifted, and partially silted up the harbour. Even in the narrowest part there is still, however, an anchorage for small boats, which we found lying close to shore; while the water was far beyond our depth in that part of the port lying nearest to its western entrance.

It should be remembered that the ancient ports along the Syrian coast, including the famous Phœnician harbours, are extremely small. The harbour of Sidon includes 20 acres, the Sidonian or northern port at Tyre only occupies 12 acres. The harbour at Cæsarea, and that inside the reef at Jaffa, are equally unfitted for the requirements of modern navigation; and it seems never to have occurred to the Tyrians to construct works connecting the various rocks in the two great reefs, which run out southwards and northwards beyond the actual harbours; although the existence of these reefs was no doubt the determining cause in fixing the site of the island city, as safe anchorage in the open roadsteads was thus obtained, from whichever direction the wind blew on shore. Strabo (xvi. 2) speaks of the Egyptian harbour as open, referring probably to the reef which runs out southwards, but the space enclosed within the southern mole is nevertheless equal to the area (12 acres) of the Sidonian harbour.

The southern harbour we planned carefully. It is divided in two by a pier which runs out from land, and which, in calm weather, is visible at a depth of 2 or 3 feet below the surface, but is now covered by the silt and by sea-weed. The southern mole runs out westwards from the land, at the extreme south-east angle of the ancient city, as defined by the Crusading wall.

It consists of ancient concrete full of large pieces of pottery, and had two paths paved with concrete, each about 4 feet wide, with a wall some 6 feet thick between them. The length of this mole is about 500 yards, the western and eastern ends are closely defined; and Lieutenant Mantell walked along a good portion which lies under water, between the extremities, and found in one place those fallen columns on the line of the wall.

The pier from the shore divides the harbour into two portions, the western measuring about 400 feet north and south, by 500 feet east and west, while the eastern measures 400 feet at its widest, opposite the shallow bay previously noticed, which is enclosed in the harbour, while on the east the harbour narrows to a point between the cliffs and the mole.

There are two entrances at least to this port, through the mole, one being 50 feet wide. They have been partially filled with great blocks thrown down apparently from the wall on the mole, but we were obliged to swim across each. Other entrances no doubt also occurred in the part now under water, but the main adit was from the west, where is a gap, in the reef which runs between the mole and the shore, of 140 feet. This entrance is skilfully constructed with an inner traverse, formed by a small tongue in the reef, so that the approach is completely defended from the waves outside. The water is here still very deep, but large blocks have been thrown down to close the entry, and the harbour is too small, and too much silted up, to be of any present value.

Having carefully planned this harbour (which is, however, I believe, shown on Gaillardot's "Survey of Tyre"), we were unable to come to any other conclusion than that it represents the Egyptian harbour. The reefs which run out 600 yards or more, in continuation of the rocks through which the western entrance is cut, break the force of the sea so that a calm open roadstead is formed within, in which a small bark was lying at the time of our visit. Without reference to the history of Alexander's siege of Tyre, I am unable to remember what was then done by his ships to the southern harbour. It is possible that the filling in of the port may, however, have been accomplished by the notorious Fakhr ed Dîn, who mined the harbours of Acre and Sidon, and who seems to have had a special aversion to maritime structures: there appears, however, no more reason to doubt that the Egyptian harbour still exists, than to question the identification of the equally small Sidonian harbour north of the present town of Tyre.

III.—The Temple of Melkarth.

I have suggested above that the Christian church at the south-east angle of the modern town may stand on the site of this famous temple. Melkarth ("the King of the City") was the Tyrian sun-god, identified by the Greeks with Hercules; and it is worthy of notice that from the site of the cathedral (which probably replaced the older basilica said to hold the bones of Origen), a clear view is obtained of the great centre of sun-worship, Mount Hermon. The ruined cathedral stands on the highest part of the larger island, in a position marking as nearly as possible the centre of the ancient city; and the ruined apses are directed towards Hermon. The fact that Christian churches were originally built on the sites of heathen temples (as at Rome, Constantinople, or Jerusalem), is too well ascertained to need more than a passing notice; and in the case of Tyre we find, lying within the Crusading building, various enormous granite shafts, two being double with diameters of 3 feet 6 inches, the length of the blocks being 26 feet. Such monoliths are entirely unlike any work of the Crusaders, and the rude marble bases and capitals lying in the ruins, are too small to have been placed in connection with them. The shafts must have been employed as piers from which the vault ribs sprung, and would have had a clumsy and unsuitable appearance even then in contrast with the small masonry and delicate mouldings of the Gothic structure. The material of these huge shafts is a fine red granite, which must have come from Egypt; and the Crusaders are little likely to have imported such stones, as they were always on bad terms with the Egyptian Saracens. Such monoliths are, however, still to be found at Jebeil (Byblos), and in other Phœnician towns, and it seems far more probable that the Phœnicians, who by religion and commerce were so intimately connected with the Egyptians, would have brought the pillars to adorn their great temple, which no doubt faced the rising sun on a line not far different from that of the orientation of the Christian basilica.

The church has been already described by other explorers. We noted some smaller grey syenite shafts and a pillar base with the Greek cross, flanked by four globes, and having the A and Ω below, the material being a good white marble. This stands *in situ* on the south side of the central apse. We also found a marble capital of Gothic design, and both of these details were sketched and measured. The ancient font which was visible some years since has been, however, removed. I noticed that the windows of the apses show two periods of construction, the original "dog tooth" moulding, which ran round them inside, having been replaced in the upper part with small stones.

The ashlar is of small size throughout, and the centre of the walls of rubble, as usual in Crusading buildings. The material is a soft sandy limestone from the neighbouring cliffs. Only a few masons' marks are visible.

We copied the inscription which occurs at the foot of the wall, outside the north apse on its north. It is already known, but was seen under a good light.

ΦΟΝΤΗΝ
ΟΠΟΜΗ
Ο . . ΟΙ . . Ν
ΚΡΗΤΗΣ

It is said that during the excavations of Sepp in 1874, a set of sacerdotal robes, a silver cup or chalice, with rings and other treasures were discovered in the cathedral.

I made inquiry as to the festivals of St. Barbara and St. Mekhlar, said by Professor Socin to preserve the cultus of Melkarth, but found no one acquainted with either name. The Maronite church is called after Our Lady, and the Greek after St. Thomas. St. Catherine is also worshipped in the town. These churches with their little belfrys, and the minaret of the single mosque, break the sky line in the long row of badly built cottages which constitute modern Tyre. There are also one or two better houses with red tiled roofs. The little Sidonian harbour was full of small craft; the walls of the buildings along its mole, with heavier masonry below and smaller above, are decidedly attributable to the 12th century, as the upper storeys of the towers present round arches, such as are never used by the modern native builders.

Various antiquities were presented to us, and I purchased a small yellow glass coin or medal, of which two were offered. It represents the sun-god with his whip standing in his chariot drawn by four horses, and was said to have been found in an excavation near the cathedral.

IV.—Palæ Tyrus.

In describing Tyre, Pliny ("Hist. Nat.," v, 17), gives it a circumference of 19 miles including Palæ Tyrus, the place itself extending 22 stadia.

The latter estimate would agree fairly with the area above described as

probably occupied by the island city, but if the 19 miles were distributed along the plain between the Nahr el Kâsimîyeh (which Abu el Feda identifies with the Leontes) and the springs of Râs el 'Ain—as has been proposed I believe by M. Renan, we should have to suppose a city almost one quarter as large as London, and quite without parallel in any other town of Syria. Strabo, on the other hand, mentions Palæ Tyrus as existing 20 stadia south of Tyre, and having a stream flowing through its midst, without in any way indicating a large suburb extending over the plain.

A careful examination of the ground between the Kâsimîyeh River, the hills east of Neby M'ashûk, and the springs of Râs el 'Ain on the south, seems to me to point clearly to the conclusion that no such extensive suburb ever existed, and that there is only one site within the area where an ancient town of any extent can have stood. Such ancient sites are clearly indicated in Palestine by various sure signs, such as the grey soil, the numerous thistles, the growth of the yellow marigold, the remains of pottery, cement, and glass, which mark the crumbling mounds long after the original buildings have disappeared. At the great mound of Tell Habîsh, near Râs el 'Ain, these indications of an old site are found. At Neby M'ashûk there are no remains which seem to indicate that there was more than a single building on the hill. The rest of the plain consists of red virgin soil or of sand dunes, with here and there traces of a single building.* The existence of a great open unprotected suburb extending over a flat plain without water, is entirely contrary to the ordinary Oriental method of growth in the more important ancient cities, where the houses appear generally to have crowded round the central fortress or sanctuary, and to have nestled close outside the walls when they could no longer find space within their circuit.

There are no indications in the way of wells, cisterns, mounds of ruins or other remains in the plain which would lead to the conclusion that a great defenceless open suburb ever existed, and the theory appears to depend only on the loose expression of Pliny, which may, perhaps, be otherwise explained, either as referring to the district of which Tyre was the capital, or else as being merely a blunder of the Italian writer, who had probably not visited the city.

The more definite description given by Strabo is easily reconciled with existing remains; and these, including the sites of Neby M'ashûk, Khubet el Lawâtîn, Wâdy et Tîn, Tell el Habîsh, and Râs el 'Ain, may in conclusion be briefly described.

A curious mound of rock rises in the plain due east of Tyre. The summit is about 100 ft. above the sea and 40 above the plain. On all sides

* At a point about half-way between Tyre and Neby M'ashûk and south of the ancient aqueduct, some boys digging in the sand dunes have found remains recently of a little shrine or chapel. Fragments of marble, of glass mosaic, of a small twisted pillar shaft, and the shoulder of a small statue in high relief, remains of a marble cornice with feebly executed mouldings, and some curious pieces of dark pottery, seem to indicate that a small Byzantine or Crusading chapel stood here among the dunes.

the bare rock is visible, and on the east is a perpendicular cliff. Close to this cliff, on the south-east extremity of the hill, stands the shrine of Neby M'ashûk, with two domes and a courtyard containing a palm. A few hovels exist north of the building. The rock is quarried on the west; and on the top of the hill there are indications of old foundations. On the north are rude rock steps, perhaps leading up to the ancient building on the summit, perhaps only made in quarrying. On the north-west are some rock-cut tombs of Tyrian character. The great aqueduct to Tyre runs close to the foot of the hill on the south, and once supplied a small mill, but its course seems to be controlled rather by the fall of the ground than by any intention of carrying water to Neby M'ashûk, as no cisterns to receive the supply appear to exist at this point. Parts of the hill were covered at the time of our visit with corn, and this may have concealed ruins, but a large part of the site shows only bare rock, and there is nothing to indicate that Neby M'ashûk was ever the centre or the acropolis of a city or suburb, while the excavations made by M. Renan brought to light only the remains of a small and comparatively modern shrine.

Although Neby M'ashûk does not, therefore, appear likely to have been the acropolis of the theoretical Palæ Tyrus, there is no doubt that it must have been a sacred shrine of antiquity and importance. It has been proposed to identify it with a temple of Astarte, but the name M'ashûk ("beloved") is in a masculine form (the passive participle of 'Ashaka), and the Neby is said to have been a man who was so fascinating that every woman who saw him fell in love with him. Probably, therefore, we have here the more ancient temple of the sun-god, pointed out by the Tyrian islanders to Alexander—the shrine of an Adonis, or youthful solar hero. A curious story is told in connection with the place. A cave is said to exist beneath it and to contain a treasure; the cave is also said to be full of bees, and we were shown a narrow cleft in the eastern cliff supposed to be the entrance and from which honey is said occasionally to exude. We saw, however, neither bees nor honey, and although our guide's story was confirmed by other witnesses on the spot, it seemed improbable that the narrow fissure in the strata should really be the mouth of a cavern. The natives say that if the cave were opened the building above would fall in ruins. The sacred cave (as has been remarked in a recent paper in the *Quarterly Statement* P. E. Fund) is usually an adjunct of a sun-worship centre; while bees and honey are also intimately connected with the sun-god; and bees form the string of the Indian Cupid's bow (Kama Deva). In this tradition we have, therefore, possibly an echo of the old cultus of the heathen divinity now known as the "beloved prophet."

East of Neby M'ashûk lies the great cemetery called Khŭrbet el Lawâtin. Careful inquiry proved that the spelling Awâtîn given by some authorities is incorrect. The word is the plural of *Lattân*, the well known name for a "lime kiln" in Syria, and the character of the site agrees, as will be seen immediately, with this translation of the title. To anyone who has read M. Renan's account of this place, the impression

made by a visit to the spot is very disappointing. There are no excavations at all equal to those at Beit Jebrîn, and the character of the cemetery, in spite of its being an extensive site, is very rude, and quite beneath comparison with many other collections of rock-cut tombs in Palestine. The caves which M. Renan describes as "immense hypogées, of which the roofs have fallen in," appear to me to be nothing else than quarries whence the soft chalk (*Huwârah*) used for burning into lime, has been obtained. Such excavations are common in all parts of the country where the very soft chalk appears, and the name Khŭrbet el Lawâtîn "ruin of the kilns," is no doubt an indirection of the origin of these caverns. The niches which have been observed in the walls of these caves appear to be the remains of loculi, occurring at different levels, showing that here, as at *Beit Jebrîn*, an ancient cemetery has been destroyed in quarrying—the original excavators finding it easier to commence operations by breaking up the walls of the tombs, than by cutting into the face of a solid cliff. Similar destruction of ancient cemeteries may be noted wherever modern quarrying has been undertaken in almost any part of Syria. There are no remains visible of the supposed roofs of the caverns, and they do not seem on inspection ever to have been covered in, except in such parts as still are roofed, where the excavations have been pushed deep into the cliff. These caves are now used as goat folds, but they are not of a size or execution in any way comparable to the great caverns of Southern Palestine.

North of the chalk quarries, the hill-side is covered with tombs. We took plans of several of these, all belonging to one type—a square chamber reached by a shaft some 6 to 10 feet deep, and having rude *Kokim* on the four walls. These tombs which, on account of their rude execution, might be thought very ancient, differ only from the Jewish *Kokim* tombs in the existence of the shaft, which takes the place of the small door entered from the face of a low cliff, in the ordinary type of Jewish sepulchre. The Jew hewed a chamber inwards from the face of the hill, while the Phœnician sunk downwards from the flat surface of the hill-top; but the chamber within was in both cases identical in its general arrangement.

The cemetery in question is certainly very extensive, and may contain unopened tombs. It seems, however, by no means clear that it is the ancient necropolis of Tyre, which, as already suggested, is more probably to be sought on the island itself. The existence of the temple at M'ashûk may perhaps account for the cemetery, the Phœnicians being eager to find sepulture near the sacred place, just as the Jew or the Moslem at Jerusalem, and in any sacred city, still desires to be buried close to the sanctuary; but the hill towns or even distant cities may have had their share in this great graveyard, as well as the island town of Tyre, which is distant some two miles from these hills.

Following the hills southwards, we visited the flat valley between Burj esh Shemâly and Burj el Kibly, which is sometimes called *Wâdy et Tîn* from the fig trees which occur on the slopes. On both sides of the valley there are tombs, and we obtained plans of some of these, which are simply

loculi in the rock: remains of wine presses also occur, and on the south side of the valley, near *'Ain el Judeideh* ("the rock-cut spring") is the curious bas-relief visited by Renan and Guérin. It measures 18 inches by 23 inches, and is surrounded by a rude frame projecting 3 inches. The design (of which a sketch accompanies this report) represents a single male figure in long robes, the head purposely defaced. On the right, at his feet, is an animal most resembling a dog, and on either side an arabesque of grape-bunches and leaves (much defaced) runs vertically—the vine on the left springing apparently from a pot, as is generally the case where this design occurs (see *'Abûd es Semû'a*, *Shefa 'Amr*, &c., in the "Memoirs"). I am aware that M. Guérin has described these defaced details as representing the heads of sheep surrounded by *nimbi;* but careful examination shows that the curving stem of the vine is continuous throughout. Nor is it clear that the human figure represents the "good shepherd," as the lamb or sheep which he would carry is not distinguishable. The existence of the vine, a symbol of the sun-god; and of the dog (if dog it be), may indicate that the sun-deity, Hercules, is represented, whose dog is recorded first at Tyre to have discovered the Murex or purple fish, which he brought from the sea in his mouth. It seems clear, moreover, that there is a tomb beneath the block of rock on which the bas-relief is cut, although the entrance is now so completely blocked that excavation would require considerable time.

Hitherto we have found no site which can really be considered to represent Palæ Tyrus. A visit to the fountains of Râs el 'Ain, however, made us acquainted with the importance of the ruin called er Rusheidîyeh, the old name of which is *Tell el Habîsh*, "Mound of the Abyssinian." There is here a great hillock measuring about 400 yards north and south, and including some 25 to 30 acres. It rises about 60 feet above the sea, and has a modern farm-house on the flat summit. The hill was covered with corn, but remains of ancient masonry were visible all over its plateau. On the north-east are two fine springs which have been enclosed with walls like those at Râs el 'Ain, the work, however, in parts looks like Crusading masonry. On the north-west is a small mill originally fed from these springs, but the water now runs in a stream to the sea. It appears, therefore, that at this site the description given by Strabo of Palæ Tyrus, as having a stream running through its midst, as well as the distance of twenty stadia from Tyre, is realized in a satisfactory manner. A small jungle of brambles, canes, and wild figs grows on the edge of the Tell to the north, following the stream to the beach, and at Tell Habîsh we have every requirement for an ancient town, a fine water supply, a lofty and spacious mound, and a small landing place on the beach itself.

Râs el 'Ain, about half a mile south of this great mound, may possibly have formed part of the site of Palæ Tyrus, which would have covered the intervening space if it was indeed a town of any size. We visited the great reservoirs and aqueducts of Râs el 'Ain, and made a plan of the three principal tanks. There appear to have been originally two springs, of which one is enclosed in the great octagonal reservoir called Birket

Ierâwy, while the other rises in a quadrangular cistern called Birket Sufsâfeh, which is situated 270 feet east of the former, and is connected by a short channel, with a smaller rudely octagonal reservoir situate at the south-western angle of the Birket Sufsâfeh.

The level of the water in these two springs is the same, about 80 feet above the sea. The two groups of reservoirs were connected by an aqueduct, of which only a few traces remain. The walls of the pools are 20 feet thick, faced with fine ashlar of stones, sometimes 5 feet long, and built inside with concrete, formed by alternate layers of pebbles in hard cement, and of flat pieces of stone or pottery. Birket Ierâwy has the appearance of having been originally domed over, the walls curving over above the water some 3 feet beyond the perpendicular of the inner surface. This Birkeh is now surrounded with small houses. Its sides are of irregular length, and were carefully planned by Lieutenant Mantell. On the north and on the east bifurcated channels lean from the surface of the pool to two pairs of vertical shafts of circular form, each 3 feet in diameter. These shafts are lined with good masonry, the stones having their faces cut to the form of the circle. They feed two modern mills, but are evidently part of **the original structure of the reservoir.**

On the west side of this tank a modern pool has been built; it is now covered with trees and cane, but was distinctly visible from the top of Birket Ierâwy. It is called Birket el Mâlti, and said to have been built by the Egyptian Emir Bedr el Mâlti, apparently about the time of Ibrahim Pasha; while the Birket Ierâwy is locally, though no doubt **wrongly, attributed to Alexander the Great.**

Birket Sufsâfeh ("the willow-pool") measures 51 feet by 48 feet inside, with walls 10 feet thick. It is built on a hill side, so that on the south the path reaches almost to the level of the top of its walls, whereas the walls of the second octagonal tank are some 15 feet high on the west side, **and over 20 feet in thickness.**

No ancient aqueduct leads from the quadrangular tank, but alterations have been made in its walls, and a modern aqueduct on arches, some of which are pointed, and others round, runs south-west for a short distance from the east side of the tank. Probably these alterations may be attributed to the Crusaders of the 12th and 13th centuries.

From the octagonal tank contiguous to the Birket Sufsâfeh, the original aqueduct to Tyre still runs about 2 miles, to the vicinity of Tell M'ashûk on the north, where it turns round westwards, and disappears in the sand dunes; the water which is carried to the town and rather beyond it, escaping to form a marsh behind the dunes. This aqueduct has the appearance of Roman work, and is lined with concrete. It has a channel, increasing from 2 feet 9 inches near the pool to 5 feet in width, and 6 feet in depth near Neby M'ashûk, where the arch is still intact, the voussoirs surmounted by a series of long slabs laid horizontally as a top covering to the structure. The fall from Râs el 'Ain to Neby M'ashûk, is at the rate of about 10 feet per mile, which would give a level of about 40 feet above the sea at Tyre, were it continued uniformly.

In crossing low ground the aqueduct is carried on large round arches with strong piers, and a string course is added above these as an ornament. The arches are generally formed by voussoirs of even proportions, but Lieutenant Mantell noticed near Tell Habîsh a row of arches, not truly structural, but formed by cutting the stones of the succession courses into the shape of a round arch, each course being corbelled out so as to form together a complete semicircle in elevation. This unusual construction may, perhaps, be a sign of the early date of the aqueduct, and the arches thus formed are dependent for strength, not on structure, but solely on the hardness of the cement used in building. The masons were, however, evidently not ignorant of the theory of the arch, as voussoirs are used in other parts of the aqueduct.

In addition to the three ancient reservoirs, and the later Birket el Mâlti, there is a fifth pool of quite distinct character situated north-west of Birket 'Isrâwy. An aqueduct with masonry of late character leads to this tank, which is some 12 feet square inside. The arches of its aqueduct were originally round, but near the tank an outer facing of masonry not bonded in, has been added with pointed arches on the north side of the piers. The tank is called Birket es Seiyideh, "Our Lady's Pool," and is a sacred place, pilgrimage being undertaken to visit the spot, and vows offered to the local divinity. The tank was probably filled at one time through its aqueduct from the more ancient aqueduct from Birket es Sufsâfeh, or rather from the contiguous octagonal reservoir. It should be noted in connection with the last-named octagonal tank, that like Birket Isrâwy it contains a pair of cylindrical shoots of good ancient masonry, which convey the water to a modern mill.

It seems clear that the original constructors of these fine old water-towers had in view rather the utilization of the springs for mill-work than the supply of the distant city of Tyre by an aqueduct.

The conclusions which suggest themselves after a visit to the spot are, that the three older tanks were originally built for local purposes, that an aqueduct to Tyre (seemingly Roman work) was afterwards made from the smaller octagonal reservoir. That the Crusaders subsequently built the Birket es Seiyideh and its aqueduct, as well as the broken aqueduct leading south-west from Birket Sufsâfeh, and that the Birket el Mâlti is the latest addition to the group of five tanks at present existing. The arrangement will, however, be rendered clearer by a glance at the plan of the older reservoirs.

The general results of our three days of exploration at Tyre may be briefly summarised in conclusion. They include:—

First, the discovery of a tomb (Mŭghâret el Mujâhed), which seems to indicate the situation of the ancient Tyrian necropolis.

Secondly, the examination of the existing remains of the southern or Egyptian harbour, and of the reef west of the island city of Tyre.

Thirdly, a suggestion as to the position of the Temple of Melkarth, rendered probable by the conspicuous and central position of a site which has long been consecrated by a Christian basilica pointing towards Hermon.

Fourthly, the examination of the hill of Neby M'ashûk, its traditions and the neighbouring Tyrian cemetery.

Fifthly, the examination of the important mound of Tell Habîsh and the neighbouring springs of Râs el 'Ain, the possible site of Palæ Tyrus.

Excavations at Tyre might still produce results of interest and importance. They should be confined to the area within the Crusading walls, or to the sites of el Lawâtîn and Tell Habîsh, where alone promising indications occur. The old necropolis of Tyre may, perhaps, exist untouched beneath the accumulated rubbish heaps of Greek, Byzantine, Crusading, and Arab times, but the vicinity of the modern graveyard would make the exploration a very delicate matter.

It should, however, be remembered that the remains as yet found have been of a very rude and uninteresting description, and that the Phœnician inscriptions discovered by M. Renan in this district were of very late date. Perhaps the most interesting piece of work which could be suggested would be a complete excavation of the cathedral by shaft sunk to rock, or to such a depth as should enable the explorer to determine whether any relics of the famous temple of Melkarth still exist on the spot.

Modern Tyre has been described as a rising place, and there is no doubt that since the Metâwileh settled here, it has grown into a town from a condition of complete ruin. Its trade is, however, quite insignificant, its harbours far too small to be of any value, and its inland communications too difficult to allow of its competing with Acre, Tripoli, or Alexandretta, as a point of strategical or commercial importance.

The fisher spreads his net on the reefs and ruined walls, as the prophet of old proclaimed in one of the most poetic chapters of the Old Testament, (Ezek. xxvii), and the little town is scarcely more than a fishing village with a small coasting trade in cereals, fruits and silk. Our knowledge of other ancient cities leads us, moreover, to conclude that even when the hardy Phœnician mariners were planting colonies in Africa, in Spain, or in France, and were the first of Orientals to discover our own stormy islands, the ports of the mother city, to which the merchants of Asia and the Mediterranean gathered from every quarter, were scarcely larger than the capacity of a fishing harbour in England, while the metropolis itself only covered an area about equal to that of Hyde Park.

The conclusions of archæologists, which a short though careful examination of the site led me to regard as requiring reconsideration, are as already detailed. First, that the Egyptian harbour has disappeared; considering the existence of a well defined port as large as the northern or Sidonian harbour. Secondly, that the Palæ Tyrus was a great suburb covering the plains east and south-east of Tyre; since no indications of such a suburb exist, while the idea is quite contrary to all we know of the size and arrangement of ancient eastern cities. Third, that the necropolis of Tyre lay at Khŭrbet el Lawâtîn; since we were able to discover at least one Tyrian tomb on the island, the natural position in which the cemetery might be expected to exist. Fourthly, that the somewhat exaggerated

description which has been given of the caves at the site of el Lawâtîn, should be modified by a comparison with similar excavations in other parts of Palestine. And lastly in general, the expectation of finding at Tyre an immense city equal in size to Rome or Athens, should be controlled by the experience which we derive from the examination of the other sacred or commercial cities of ancient Syria, which, like the modern towns of the country, seem to have been crowded into areas quite insignificant in comparison with those occupied by European metropolises, and strangely contrasting to the world-wide fame which such little cities as Tyre, Sidon, Joppa, or Jerusalem have obtained in later ages.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E.

III.

FROM BEYROUT TO JERUSALEM.

JERUSALEM, 28*th May*, 1881.

THE disturbances in the Hauran rendered it prudent to relinquish our original plan of commencing the Eastern Survey on the north; and, as many of our heavy stores were in Jerusalem, it appeared necessary to shift our base of operations to the Holy City, whence we hope to proceed to Gilead and Moab. Leaving Beyrout on 7th May, we journeyed down the coast by Sidon, Tyre, Acre, and Nablus, reaching the capital on Saturday, 21st. We remained two days in Tyre, and one day in Nablus when we revisited the top of Ebal, and rebuilt the cairn erected in the summer of 1872, as the point will probably be conspicuous east of Jordan. From Ebal we beheld the great plateau broken only by the valley of the Jabbok, which is the scene of our expected labours. Many things, however, required to be settled on a satisfactory basis before we could hope successfully to attack our work, and the time spent in thoroughly organizing the expedition will probably be saved later in the increased working power of the party. Meantime a few scattered notes, on the points which were observed along the road, will probably be thought of interest.

Our camps were pitched at Neby Yûnis (where we rested for Sunday, 8th), Sidon, Tyre (where two days were spent), Nakûrah, el Bahjeh, near Acre (where the second Sunday was passed), Sheikh Ibreik, Jenîn, Nâblus, 'Ain el Haramîyeh, and Jerusalem; the result of our explorations at Tyre are given in another report.

THE ROAD.

It has been suggested that the main coast road dates from Arab times, but it has all the appearance of Roman origin, not only because Roman milestones have fallen beside it at intervals, but because the broad central rib or backbone of cut stones is visible in places, with side-walls of rough blocks, both of these features being peculiar to Roman roads in Syria. In many places where the road runs along the beach, concrete

was used instead of stone to form the roadway, and the remains of this, set in hard white or pink cement, are still to be found in parts.

The remains of Roman bridges with round arches are also observable both at the River Kâsimiyeh and also at the Nahr Abu el Aswad when the arch is still perfect.

Khurbet Umm el' Amud.*

This important site south of Tyre (the old name of which seems to have been Laodicea) was visited by Renan, who found here some late Phœnician inscriptions. There is a temple in a conspicuous position on a rugged hillside, and many other ruins, but they are so overgrown with copse that a long time would be necessary for their exploration. The plan of the temple is very difficult to make out, but it appears to have had three aisles, and to have measured about 180 feet E. and W. (true bearing 30°), with an outer colonnade 25 feet wide having two rows of pillars. The capitals are Ionic, and the mouldings have a simple and pure character which marks the temple as being earlier than the Byzantine period. Some curious stones which have the form of segments of spheres about 18 inches in diameter (looking like slices from a Swiss cheese) have sockets in the spherical surface. They may, perhaps, have formed parts of some ornamental erections over the cornices, either as bases from which a small needle was raised or perhaps as representations of shallow vases on a base fitted into the socket.

We measured various curious details, including a sarcophagus with a projecting pilaster at one end, and a stone 5 feet square, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, with two square shallow troughs, 1 foot side sunk in the upper part, and rude sculptures on the sides, one of which resembled a headless sphinx or lion apparently with wings.

There is a second block 2 feet 8 inches square, 3 feet high, with a trough 1 foot square and a few inches deep. Possibly these may have been altars, as there seems no other good explanation of the shallow sunk places in which a fire might have been kindled. A double tomb, rock-cut, exists further north, of which we made a plan ; but our visit was too short to enable us to obtain a good idea of the site. There is a large amount of broken tesselated pavement on the hillsides below the temple.

Nakurah.

I made special inquiries as to the meaning which the natives attach to this word applied to the pass generally identified with the ancient Scala Tyriorum. Professor Palmer renders the word "trumpet" and suggests that as *Sûr* in Arabic may also mean "trumpet," the natives may have misunderstood Sur (Tyre) to mean a trumpet, and not as in Hebrew "a rock," and that in process of time they may have substituted the word Nâkûrah, applying it to the promontory originally called *Sûr*.

* See "Memoirs," vol. i, p. 182.

The word Nâkûrah comes, however (as Professor Palmer tells me), from a root meaning "to pick," or excavate by picking out. It occurs more than once in the survey nomenclature, as in 'Ain en Nâkûrah, 'Ain en Nukr, and the village Nâkûrah near Nâblus, places which have no connection with Tyre. I find that the meaning attached by the natives to the term is that of excavation or scarping, which is exactly the Talmudic use of the word, where it is applied to caves excavated artificially. The name, in fact, of Râs en Nakûrah, is derived apparently from the rock-cutting through which the road passes. This has been destroyed in making the new road, which is on a higher level than the old, but the vertical cutting of the rock is still visible in more than one place on both sides of the road. I may, perhaps, venture here to remark that I do not know a single instance in which the Fellahîn have substituted one word for another in the manner that Professor Palmer supposes. They adhere, it is true, often to the Hebrew name of a place, long after the meaning has been lost (as is the case also in our own country), sometimes modifying the sound slightly to give it a modern—and often erroneous—meaning.

In the case of *Sûr*, however, it should be noted that the word is still used by the peasantry to mean a rock, and it is not known, as far as I have ascertained, to mean a trumpet.

Meselieh.

In 1876 I proposed to identify the village of Meselieh, or Mithilia, south of Jenin, with the Bethulia of the Book of Judith, supposing the substitution of M for B, of which there are occasional instances in Syrian nomenclature. The indications of the site given in the Apocrypha are tolerably distinct. Bethulia stood on a hill, but not apparently on the top, which is mentioned separately (Judith vi, 12). There were springs or wells beneath the town (verse 11), and the houses were above these (verse 13). The city stood in the hill country not far from the plain (verse 11), and apparently near Dothan (Judith iv, 6). The army of Holofernes was visible when encamped near Dothan (Judith vii, 3–4), by the spring in the valley near Bethulia (verses 3–7).

The site usually supposed to represent Bethulia—namely, the strong village of Sânûr, does not fulfil these various requisites, but the topography of the Book of Judith, as a whole, is so consistent and easily understood, that it seems probable that Bethulia was an actual site. Visiting Mithilia on our way to Shechem (*see* Sheet XI of the Survey), we found a small ruinous village on the slope of the hill. Beneath it are ancient wells, and above it a rounded hill top, commanding a tolerably extensive view. The north-east part of the great plain, Gilboa, Tabor, and Nazareth, are clearly seen. West of these a neighbouring hill hides Jenin and Wâdy Bela'meh (the Belmaim probably of the narrative), but further west Carmel appears behind the ridge of Sheikh Iskander, and part of the plain of 'Arrâbeh, close to Dothan, is seen. A broad corn vale, called "The King's Valley," extends north-west from Meselieh towards Dothan, a distance of only three miles. There is a low shed formed by rising ground between two

hills, separating this valley from the Dothian plain; and at the latter site is the spring beside which probably the Assyrian army is supposed by the old Jewish novelist to have encamped. In imagination one might see the stately Judith walking through the down trodden corn-fields, and shady olive groves, while on the rugged hill-side above the men of the city "looked after her until she was gone down the mountain, and till she had passed the valley, and could see her no more" (Judith x, 10).

Jacob's Well.

In 1876 some misconceptions appeared to exist as to the condition of this famous site. The well itself has never been choked. It is 75 feet deep, and still at times contains water. Over the shaft, however, is built a Crusading vault (as described in the "Memoirs"), and this is entered from the present surface through a hole in the roof. The floor is covered with stones, which have fallen from above, and which, until lately, quite concealed the well-mouth. During the present travelling season the vault has been partly cleared by an English traveller, and the mouth of the well is now visible with the shaft as far down as there is light enough to see it. A stone, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, covers the well, and in it is a circular hole, 18 inches in diameter, with a raised square moulding round it. The dressing somewhat resembles Crusading work. The masonry of the shaft beneath is apparently well finished. There are remains of mosaic pavement round the stone forming the well-mouth, and, as has been already noticed in "Tent-Work," two pillars of the ancient church are still in site in a vault north-west of the well. They are of grey syenite, and it is probable that the other shafts of similar character lying near the enclosure (70 paces square) in which Jacob's Well now stands also belonged, not as some have thought, to the Temple on Gerizim, but rather to the ancient Cruciform Basilica, which was so built as to have the well in the centre of the cross. Excavations would probably result in the tracing of this church under the present surface, but any interference with the place is looked on with extreme suspicion by the peasantry, who imagine that the Franks wish to take the well away to Europe.

En Tappuah.

According to the views of recent writers, this place is to be sought south of Nâblus, and west of the plain of el Mukhnah. There are several good springs in the direction, and it seemed possible that en Tappuah, the "apple spring," might still exist under the Arabian form *Ain et Tuffûh* (or *Tuffûh*) somewhere either near 'Ain Abûs, or further south. We accordingly went along the route in question, as far south at Yâsûf, and enquired, both at 'Ain Abûs and afterwards, for the situation of 'Ain et Tuffâh. In spite of this leading question, no one professed to know the site, and the goat-herds (who are the best authority on such questions) denied that any such place existed. They enumerated many other springs which are marked on the map, and curiously enough

suggested that we meant 'Ain Yâsuf, which (according to the view advocated in the "Handbook to the Bible") is just where en Tappuah should be sought. Although it is thus only a negative result which we have obtained, it is so far satisfactory that careful enquiry, both in 1881 and 1877, failed to recover the name. So that there is no need to suspect that an important name has been omitted from the Survey in this case.

Jufna.

A curious instance of the way in which small objects may be overlooked occurred in this instance. The village had been visited in 1872 by the Survey party, and subsequently by Lieutenant Kitchener. Colonel Wilson has also been there, and Dr. Clapton has visited the place, yet no one seems to have noticed the sarcophagus side built into the courtyard of the Greek Church of St. George, which stands south of the village in the valley. The design represents three wreaths supported by a winged genii, and three Medusa heads occur in medallions above the wreaths. The side has been broken off and built into the north wall of the courtyard, the door of which bears a modern Greek inscription, with the dates 1858 and 1860.

Inside the courtyard, in a corner, is a fine old Crusading font of the usual pattern, cylindrical, with a square basin and four semi-circular seats forming a quartrefoil within the circle (as at Tekoa and in many other places south of Jerusalem). There is also a rude Byzantine capital outside the Church, and the other portions of the sarcophagus lie near. Thus, in the little shrine of St. George, we have remains of every period from the Roman epoch downwards, and the site with its fine trees and pomegranate bushes is probably an ancient shrine.

Er Ram.

At the shrine which is so conspicuous near this village are remains of a former chapel. The lintel stone (as it would seem) with a bas-relief of rosettes, has been found by Dr. Chaplin within the building, and a very curious stone mask is in his possession, obtained from the village. It represents a human face without hair or beard, the nose well-cut, the eyes and mouth very feebly designed.

The mask is hollowed out behind, and has two deep holes at the back as if to fix it to a wall. It is over a foot in longer diameter, and curiously resembles some of the faces of the Moabite collection of Mr. Shapira. There cannot well be any question of its genuine character, and nothing like it has been found so far as I know in Palestine.

Jett.

Two Roman lamps with double wicks were shown to me at Nâblus, one is in the form of a bull, the forefeet extended in front to form the spouts for the wicks. These were found in 1874 at *Jett*, and I had often heard of the bull as an ancient idol. The place in question is

situate near the plain of Sharon (Sheet XI), and is an ancient site of importance, probably the Gath of the Egyptian records, and the *Gitta* of which Simon Magus is said to have been a native.

Jerusalem.

It is almost exactly six years since I last visited the Holy City, and during this time the growth of the place has been very rapid. A Jewish village, not marked on the Survey, has grown up along the Jaffa road, and the Jewish population is now estimated at 1,500 souls out of some 2,503 inhabitants. The number of Germans has also largely increased, and similar changes are said to have occurred at Bethlehem and Hebron. There is always something new to find in the city, and Dr. Chaplin pointed out to me several interesting details. The under-mentioned inscription is not to be found, so far as I am aware, in previous papers, and was unknown to Dr. Chaplin, nor is it among those collected for the Society in 1873, by M. Ganneau. It was kindly pointed out to me by Mr. S. Bergheim. It occurs on the north wall of the tower in which Herod's Gate (Báb ez Zahreh) is built, and is placed on a sort of tablet, measuring 3 feet by 1 foot with triangular wings. The stone is built into the wall upside down, and the existence of the tablet, the form of the letters, and the words in the 2nd and 3rd lines, Της Αγιας της, seem to show that it is of Christian and Byzantine origin.

ΓєΡ . . . . . ΔωΝ
ΤΑΠΝωΝCΥCΙ . . . . . ΤΗC
ΑΓΙΑCΤΗC . . . . . ΟΙω
ΑΝΝΟΥ . . . C . . ΙΝΗΘ . ΑΝΤΙωΝ

I have omitted various doubtful letters, as the inscription does not appear valuable. The stone is too rough and crooked to allow of a satisfactory squeeze being taken. It is some 15 feet from the ground, and I copied it standing on a ladder. It was probably taken from one of the early Christian Churches in the city.

In passing through the bazaars and the Viá Dolorosa, Dr. Chaplin pointed out to us various remains of Crusading Jerusalem. The bazaar was known in the twelfth century as *Malcuisinat*, and the groined vaulting of the roof seems to belong to this period, while on one of the corbels supporting the arches is cut in mediæval characters the inscription

$$\frac{\text{ⁿ}}{\text{sca}}$$
anna

Probably there was property belonging to the Church of St. Anne at this spot. There are many other little Crusading relics at Jerusalem of which I have made notes at different periods, and which serve to illustrate the curious mediæval account contained in the "Citez de Jherusalem."

Siloam.

The excavations now conducted on the Ophel ridge by Dr. Guthe for the German Exploration Society are of great interest. Through

his kindness we were enabled to visit them all, but I should ill repay his courtesy by forestalling his own account of his work. It is sufficient to say that he is engaged in investigating a corner of the city where, perhaps, more than anywhere else, success may be expected to attend the employer, and where, moreover, we are most in want of information. He has shown, moreover, that the Ophel spur was once covered with buildings down almost to the very edge of the pool. It is difficult to give a date for such buildings, but with some exceptions they seem at least not later than the time of Hadrian, and I was disposed to think that the continuation of Colonel Warren's Ophel wall has really been found by Dr. Guthe running southwards. Some remains seem, however, clearly (as Dr. Guthe also thinks) to belong to the Byzantine period, and the excavations require to be extended considerably before any final conclusions can safely be reached.

Dr. Guthe also kindly gave us the opportunity of visiting the now famous inscription in the great rock-cut channel. Far from wondering that it was never seen before, the marvel appears to me to be that it was ever found at all. Two youths of Jewish birth endeavoured to walk along the passage to the north end, but failed to do so—yet stumbled on the inscription, but the water was then running almost on the level of the highest line of the text. It has now been carried off so as to show the whole height of the tablet, which is about 2 feet square, with a face carefully polished and slightly convex. The letters are remarkably distinct, but the flaws in the rock render the text very difficult to follow. The letters are filled with a deposit of lime formed by the water action, and it is consequently impossible to take a squeeze which will give any really valuable idea of the text.

Dr. Guthe has taken several paper squeezes and one gypsum cast, but none of these give a good idea of the letters. With the aid of these, however, and by sketching from the letters themselves, he has produced a copy which will probably supersede all others. This has taken him several weeks of work, and I thought it impossible to rival it in the time at our command. The inscription is on the right hand on entering the passage from the Siloam end, and some 12 paces from the entrance.

It is thought in Jerusalem that Professor Sayce's copy and translation may prove too hasty to be of any value. Mr. Shapira gives a different interpretation to the text, explaining it as referring to the cutting of the tunnel from the two opposite ends. This we know was really how the excavation was effected, and Mr. Shapira's intimate acquaintance with the Hebrew idiom (as a Talmudist of 20 years' education) seems to render his opinion worthy of consideration.

It might appear strange that the visitor who scratched his name in the upper part of the tablet did not see the text, but there was an old water-mark above the inscription when first discovered, and the letters were no doubt hidden. Dr. Guthe has found part of the ancient pool to which the channel ran, and the impression which I obtained on the spot, when carefully observing the scarps on either side of the valley, was, that

the ancient pool of Siloam, the "ditch" which Hezekiah made for the water of the Old Pool (Isaiah xxii, 9, 11) may have been a large sheet of water forming a defence where the wall was lowest, and closing a weak point at the outlet of the Tyropœon valley.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E.

IV.

NABLUS. JERUSALEM. THE MOUNTAIN OF THE SCAPE GOAT.

JERUSALEM, *7th June*, 1881.

IT appears now unavoidable that some delay should occur in commencing the Eastern Survey, in consequence of the difficulties raised by the Turkish authorities which cannot be overcome without patience. Meantime much interesting work remains to be done, in collecting the various discoveries made by residents, and noting the results of excavations and alterations which have occurred during the last five years. During 1872 it was impossible to enter the mosques at Nâblus, but during my recent visit I was able, by the kind assistance of M. Falsher, to visit every monument of interest within the walls of the town, and to collect several new traditions.

In the middle of Nâblus is a quadrangular building with whitewashed walls, containing the tomb of Sheikh Badrân or Sheikh Bedr er Rafia'. The walls are whitewashed, and the roof is supported by four pillars having early Byzantine capitals and grey granite shafts. This is evidently an early basilica which has as yet, so far as I am aware, escaped notice. Sheikh Badrân is said to have been the father of Sheikh 'Amâd ed Dîn, whose sacred place is on Ebal. This also indicates the Christian origin of the tradition, for the companion shrine on Ebal was originally also a church, and the Greeks and Latins alike in Nâblus, regard it as the place where the head of John the Baptist was buried; his body, according to an early but erroneous tradition, being buried at Samaria. 'Amâd ed Dîn ("monument of the faith") appears (according to the description given by Marino Sanuto) to be the place which the Crusaders called Dan, and where they supposed the calf to have been set up by Jeroboam,—the Bethel of the narrative being, according to their explanation, the Samaritan site of Luz on Gerizim.

In addition to the great mosque, the Mosque of Hezu Ya'kûb ("the wailing of Jacob"), and the Leper's Mosque (the old crusading hospital in the north-east angle of the city), I visited the sacred place called Oulâd Y'akûb, "the sons of Jacob," a sight which Robinson sought in vain, and which seems to have an antiquity not inferior to Jacob's well or Joseph's tomb. It is recognized by Jew, Samaritan, and Moslem alike, and is mentioned by St. Jerome in his account of Sta. Paula's journey. It is in the north-east angle of the town, north of the Leper's Mosque, and close

to the "Raisin Mart" (Khân Ezbîb). A door on the north leads to a little paved court, with a division of stone, some 6 inches high, beyond which ones boots must be removed. In this court are two small marble pillar shafts, one of which has an Arab inscription, with the name of *Malik 'Amr* and the date 622 A.H. (13th century). In other respects the building seems quite modern. On the south side is a double chamber, the southern half entered from the east, while in the northern half is a large cenotaph of the ordinary kind, covered with green cloths, and having a high pilla with sculptured turban at either end. This, according to the Sheikh, was the tomb of three of the sons of Jacob, to whom he gave the names Reiyâlûn, Sahyûn (apparently Sion), and Bushera (perhaps Asher).

I have also paid a visit to the Samaritan High Priest Ya'kûb, for the purpose of enquiring as to various Samaritan traditions. We found him in the little synagogue, where a representative congregation, robed in white, were reading the law in high nasal key much like that of a Jewish service. The Samaritans appear to be prospering, as their numbers have increased from 135 to 160 souls; and I was much impressed with the fine physique and handsome countenances of the men, which seem to contradict the idea that the race is dying out, as does also the fact that the number of males is considerably in excess of that of the females (98 to 62).

I was, however, disappointed by the results of our conversation with respect to the character of Samaritan traditions, not only because I found that the present High Priest has forgotten many things known to Amrâm, his uncle and predecessor, and has only a confused remembrance of many important points, but also because in many cases the traditions which he related, as commonly received, are of very recent origin, and traceable to the Crusaders. Thus, for instance, he believed that Dothan was not to be placed at Tell Dothân, the site recognized by Jerome and by modern writers, but at Khân Jubb Yusef, where it is placed by the Crusading historians, north of the Sea of Galilee. He stated that this was to be proved from ancient Samaritan books, and was quite unaware of the unsatisfactory nature of the identification.

The Samaritans have a tradition that the twelve sons of Jacob were buried each within the bounds of his own tribe. The sites which they point out are not, however, in accordance with this view. As regards Joshua's tomb, both the modern Samaritans and the mediæval Samaritan writers are divided into two parties, the one saying that he lies with Eliazar and Phinehas at 'Awertah, the others that he is buried with Nun and Caleb at Kefr Hâris.

I found that Caleb is known among them as Kifl, which renders the identification of the three sites at Kefr Hâris complete; Neby Nun being Nun, Neby Kifl Caleb, and Neby Lusha' Joshua, in accordance with the account of R. Jacob of Paris, and other Jewish travellers of the middle ages.

The tombs of the twelve sons of Jacob, as believed in by the Samaritans,

are all now in the hands of the Moslems, excepting perhaps that of Joseph, to which Jews and Samaritans have access, and where they burn oil and incense on two altars, one at the head, the other at the foot of the cenotaph. Judah lies at Neby Hûdah in el Yehudîyeh (Jehud), north of Jaffa. Dan, at Neby Dan, in the village of Neby Daniân, a little further east. Asher is said to be Neby Tota (the good prophet), in Tûbâs, north-east of Nâblus. Simeon is Neby Shem'ôn, near Kefr Sâta, north of Jaffa. Reuben is Neby Rûbîn, a sacred place east of Yebnah, to which for at least 300 years pilgrimages have been made (far, however, from the lot of the tribe of Reuben). Levi is Neby Lawîn, who has a conspicuous shrine near Sîleh, north-west of Nâblus. Benjamin, Gad, and Naphtali were unknown to the High Priest, who thought they might be the three buried at the Oulâd Ya'kub as above noticed. I believe, however, that Neby Yemîn near Neby Sham'ôn probably belongs to this group, and represents Benjamin.

Issachar, according to the High Priest, is now called Neby Hazkîl (Hazkîl or Ezekiel) by the Moslems, and lies in the village of Rameh. It is very remarkable that Rameh is a border town (Remeth) of Issachar, and that the name Hazkîn occurs again in the same connection in Jebel Hazkîn, which exists on the border of the same tribe near the south-east angle. In this case, therefore, the tradition has some *primâ facie* appearance of being genuine. Finally the High Priest had heard that Zebulon was buried somewhere near Sidon. I presume that he referred to Neby Sebelân in the hills above Tyre. He also stated that other children (probably descendants) of Jacob were buried at *'Asîret el Hatab* and at *el Bizâneh;* all these places lie in the districts where in former times the Samaritans were numerous, and none are within the borders of Judæa. I give these traditions for what they are worth as a contribution to the folk-lore of Palestine.

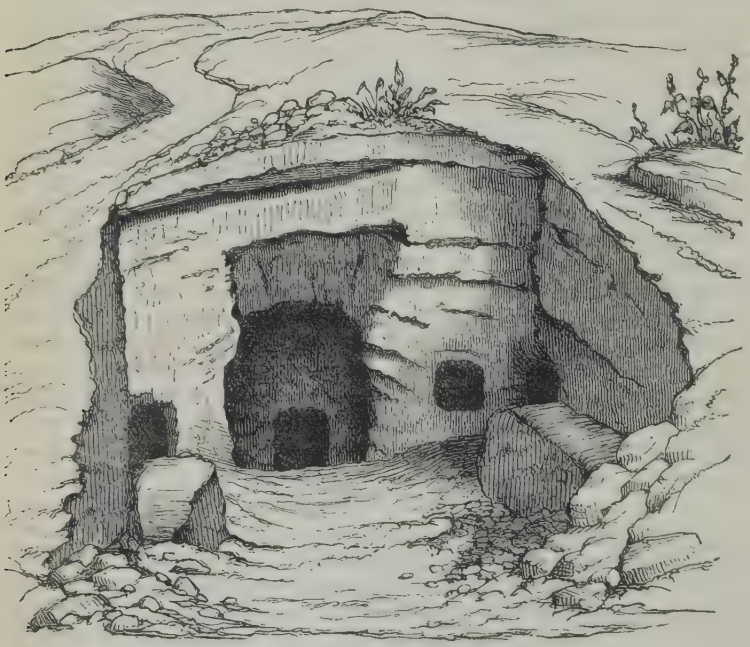
Jerusalem.

I find that the identification of the hill above Jeremiah's Grotto with the probable site of Calvary, which depends mainly on the fact that, according to Jewish tradition, this was the ancient place of public execution, has found favour with a large number of intelligent readers. I have already explained that we are indebted to Dr. Chaplin for discovering the tradition; but there are several facts in connection with this most interesting question which I have only recently ascertained.

The modern Arab name of the place is *el Heidhemâyeh* ("torn down"), but this is a corruption of the earlier *Adhemîyeh* as given by Mejr ed Dîn, and there seems no doubt that it is derived from the tomb of a son of the famous Edhem, a historical character. The Sheikh of the Jerusalem Haram gave me this explanation, which is confirmed by Dr. Chaplin. It appears also from Mejr ed Dîn, that the neighbourhood immediately east was called es Sahira, and was an ill-omened place connected in the imagination of Moslems with death and judgment (like the Kedron Valley

beyond it). Possibly in this we may have some trace of the ill-omened site of the ancient place of execution.

Another point concerning this hillock has been noticed by recent visitors, who have seen in its outline a resemblance to a skull. This was mentioned to me by the Rev. A. Henderson, but I could not then remember the circumstance. On walking from the north-east corner of Jerusalem towards the rock I perceived, however, what was meant. The rounded summit and the two hollow cave entrances beneath do, indeed, give some resemblance to a skull, as may be seen in a photograph taken from this point of view by Lieutenant Mantell, which I enclose. It is the skull of an animal rather than of a human being, and I should not like to base



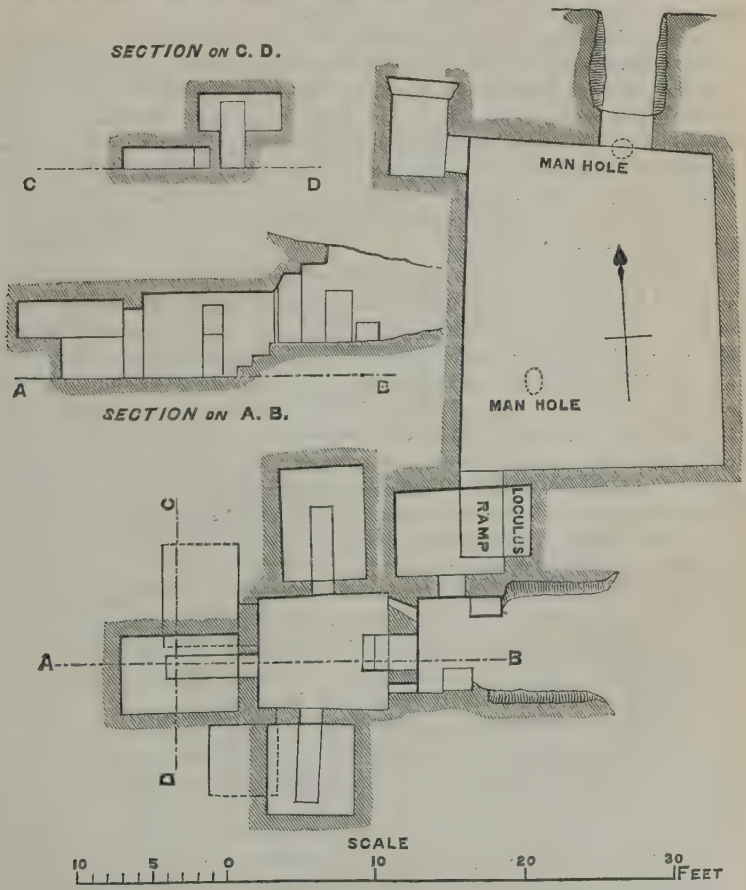
NEWLY DISCOVERED TOMB, 200 YARDS WEST OF JEREMIAH'S GROTTO.—VIEW FROM EAST.

an argument on so slight a resemblance. It is, however, of interest to note the fact, as many persons consider that Golgotha was a name derived from the form of the ground, rather than from the use of the site as a place of burial or of execution.

It is more important to notice that the site of Jeremiah's Grotto is peculiarly fitted for a place of execution in consequence of its commanding position. From the summit the eye roams above the city walls over the greater part of Jerusalem, while on the west the ground rises beyond the intervening valley like a theatre. There is hardly another

spot near Jerusalem so fitted to be the central point for any public spectacle.

Still more interesting is a discovery which I made about a week ago, of an indisputably Jewish tomb immediately west of the knoll in question. It has only recently been opened, and has not been as yet described, I believe, by any visitor. It is cut in the east face of a very curious rock platform measuring about 70 paces either way—as shown on the Ordnance



NEWLY DISCOVERED JEWISH TOMB NEAR THE CITY, 200 YARDS WEST OF JEREMIAH'S GROTTO.

Survey about 200 yards west of the grotto. The platform is roughly scarped on all sides, in an apparently artificial manner, and on the west is a higher piece of rock, also with sides rudely scarped. The rest of the space is fairly level, but there seem to be traces of the foundations of a surrounding wall in some low mounds near the edge of the platform

I have long been aware of the existence of a curious cistern in the north-east corner of this scarp. It has a domed roof with a man-hole, and also a door with a passage 10 ft. long and 3 ft. wide, leading out eastwards. The cistern is about 8 paces in diameter, and three steps lead down from the door to the level of the cistern floor. This excavation seems originally to have been a chamber afterwards converted into a cistern, and there are sockets for the door-hinges and for bolts in the passage entrance.

The ancient tomb is some thirty paces further south, and the entrance is also from the east. The whole is very rudely cut in rock, which is of inferior quality. The doorway is much broken, and there is a loophole or window, 4 ft. wide, either side of the door. The outer court, cut in the rock, is 7 ft. square, and two stones are so placed in this as to give the idea that they may have held in place a rolling-stone before the door. On the right (or north) is a side entrance, leading into a chamber with a single loculus, and thence into a cave, some 8 paces square and 10 ft. high, with a well-mouth in the roof.

The chamber within the tomb entrance is reached by a descent of two steps, and measures 6 ft. by 9 ft. From either side wall, and from the back wall is an entrance 20 ins. wide and about $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, leading into a side chamber. A passage runs in continuation of each entrance for $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft., and on each side is a bench about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide and $2\frac{1}{4}$ ft. high. A similar bench occurs at the end, the whole width of each chamber being thus $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft., its length 7 ft. 2 in., and its height from 5 to 6 ft. Each would contain two bodies lying beside the passage, but there would scarcely be room for three. In addition to these three chambers, there are two excavations on the floor-level, in the further corner of the central chamber. They are about 5 ft. square, with narrow entrances, and were scattered with human bones at the time of my visit.

The discovery of this tomb is of no little importance in connection with Jerusalem topography. If it be compared with the great cemetery at Sheikh Ibreik, and with the monument of Helena at Jerusalem, it will be seen to belong to the later Jewish period—the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. It is not a Christian tomb, so far as can be judged, for the Christians in Palestine seem mainly to have used the "rock-sunk" tomb. A cemetery of tombs of the form commonly used by the Crusaders, was found in 1873 near the north-east angle of the Jerusalem city walls, but no Jewish tomb has ever been found before so close to the ramparts of the modern city on the north: the next nearest being the tomb discovered in 1873, about 300 yards further north.

It would be bold to hazard the suggestion that the single Jewish sepulchre thus found is indeed the tomb in the garden, nigh unto the place called Golgotha, which belonged to the rich Joseph of Arimathea; yet its appearance so near the old place of execution, and so far from the other tombs in the old cemeteries of the city, is extremely remarkable. I am sorry to say that a group of Jewish houses is growing up round the spot. The rock is being blasted for building-stone, and the tomb, unless

preserved, may perhaps soon be entirely destroyed. It is now in a disgusting condition of filth, which shows that the Jews have little reverence for the old sepulchres of their ancestors. Perhaps some of our readers might feel willing to redeem this most interesting monument from its present state of desecration, and to purchase and enclose the little plot of rocky ground in which it stands. Without such preservation the sepulchre is doomed to destruction sooner or later.

The platform of rock in which the tomb is cut seems possibly to have been the base of a group of towers with a scarped foundation.

The distance from the monument of Helena, and the position with respect to the Cotton Grotto, agrees with the description given by Josephus of the position of the "Women's Towers" (*see* "Handbook to the Bible," page 352). If the third wall actually extended over this line, it is easy to explain why no other tombs of the same period exist so close to the present city. The extension of the fortifications rendered it necessary to remove the cemetery further off, since the Jews did not allow sepulture within the walls. The cisterns may have belonged to the period when the great towers were here erected, and the passage with steps may even have been a postern from the towers.

If we could feel any reasonable certitude that in this single Jewish tomb (dating about the time of Christ) we have recovered the actual sepulchre in which he lay, an easy explanation of the loss of the site is afforded at once; for the construction, some ten years later, of the "Women's Towers" by Agrippa, upon the rock over the tomb, would have caused the monument to be hidden beneath, or within the new buildings; and thus the sepulchre could no longer be visited, and in course of time its existence was forgotten, until the zealous Helena destroyed the Venus Temple on the present site of the Holy Sepulchre Church, and "beyond all hope" (as Eusebius words it) discovered the rock-cut Jewish tomb, which the faithful accepted as the tomb of Christ.

A careful plan of the site and of the tomb is being made by Lieutenant Mantell,* as the alterations in this part of Jerusalem are proceeding so rapidly, that on our next visit rock and tomb may alike have disappeared.

The Mountain of the Scape Goat.†

Since proposing the identification of this mountain, I have been unable until yesterday to revisit the spot. Readers of "Tent Work"

* In making this plan, Lieutenant Mantell found various remains of early Byzantine sculpture belonging to cornices, also pieces of tesselated pavement and of a stone pavement of squares about 6 inches side. These were dug up south of the rock platform, near the spot where Mr. Schick discovered the great sarcophagus, supposed by Dr. Chaplin to have been the tomb of the Empress Eudocia. It is known that the old church of St. Stephen, which she built and where she was buried, existed on this spot, and the cornices and terraces are no doubt fragments of this basilica.

† My identification of this site has been recently called in question by

will remember that there was a place called Tzuk, to which the scape goat was conducted, and where his conductor, seizing him by the legs, pushed him over a precipice, so that rolling to the bottom he was killed, and thus the evil omen of his voluntary return to Jerusalem was rendered impossible. The mountain was in a district called Hidoodim, and the place of precipitation was called Tzuk. It was apparently at a distance of eleven Sabbath days' journey from the city, and was at the entrance to the desert.

In 1876 I was able to show in the *Quarterly Statement* how all these requisites are met by the site of el Muntâr ("the watch tower"), a great hill north-east of Mar Saba, and about 6½ miles in a line from Jerusalem. The name Tzuk occurs under the form Sûk (radically exact) at an ancient well near the ridge. The name Hidoodim seems to be preserved, as I first remarked in 1876, in the title *Hadeidûn*, applying to the ridge or spur running north-east from the mountain. The distance is almost exactly that required, and the view of the desert first opens on the traveller from Jerusalem as he nears the summit. Since I proposed the identification, Mr. Schick has visited the spot; and in our recent visit we were able to recover the names as before from another witness, and to make several other observations of interest.

Lieutenant Mantell, Dr. Chaplin, and myself rode yesterday to the mountain along the ancient road which leads to it from Jerusalem. This road, diverging from the Jericho highway at Bethany, leads west of Abu Dîs, and descends into the upper part of the great Wâdy Abu Hindi, which will be found marked on our map west of the mountain. We could trace the ancient roadway by its side walls the greater part of the distance, and verified the nomenclature of the map in a very satisfactory manner in riding along. Ancient wells, the sites of which are marked on the map and their names recorded in the "Memoirs," occur all along the course of the road. The well of *Sûk* or Tzuk (Bîr es Sûk or Herubbet es Sûk) is a little south of the road, on the side of a shallow depression in the wolds which extend unbroken from Abu Dîs to el Muntar. It has every appearance of antiquity, with a small aqueduct some 200 feet,

Professor Neubauer, who does not, however, appear to have been aware of the strength of the arguments in its favour, as he refers only to the name Hadeidun. He supposes Tzuk to have been 12 Roman miles from Jerusalem, which is contrary to the explanation of the Mishna, given by Maimonides, and he places the site at Jebel Kuruntul, which is over 13 English miles in a line from Jerusalem. The name Tzuk he proposes to recover in *'Ain Dûk*, at the foot of this mountain; but this name (Doch or Dagon) has no connection with Tzuk (צוּק).

It may be noticed, moreover, that while el Muntâr is a singularly conspicuous mountain, at the proper distance from Jerusalem, on an ancient road, and reached without crossing any great feature, Kuruntul can only be reached by a long detour northwards from the city; and far from being visible from the Temple, it is not even seen from Olivet, being hidden by the surrounding ridges. Kuruntul has, in fact, no circumstances in its favour, while the distance is about double that at which the site of Tzuk is to be sought.

bringing surface water from the hill slopes on the east. The great block in form of a cylinder, with a round perforation in the middle, covering the rock-cut cistern beneath, has been broken in two. On the well-mouth lies a rude term or pillar 2 feet long and 9 inches in diameter, much resembling a small mile-stone. There is a second stone collar lying beside the well, cut like the broken one in very hard stone, and showing no marks of the cords of shepherds' buckets, either because the well is little used, or because the stone is too hard. The reservoir is full of good water, and our guide said it extended some way under the ground. There is a small hole in the side of the well, through which the water from the aqueduct enters the cistern beneath at the end of the channel, which is also rock-cut.

Some 300 paces east of the well is a cave, with its mouth to the north. It is quite rough, and is 7 feet high and some 10 paces square.

On the spur north of the well—a high ridge, whence Jerusalem and el Muntâr are both distinctly visible, are remains of an enclosure called Rujm Ghuzâleh ("Cairn of the Gazelle"), with a tradition attached, that a favourite horse of an Arab Chief, called "the Gazelle" from its speed and beauty, was here killed in an Arab skirmish. The enclosure is 30 paces east and west, by 24 paces north and south, presenting a single row of roughly cut stones, some being of considerable size (4 to 5 feet long), and one having a socket cut in it as if for a door post.

The identification of the Scape Goat Mountain does not seem to require further evidence than that already brought forward. Still two curious points may be noticed. In the first place the word *Ghŭzâleh* contains the root of the name Azazel, rendered "scape" in our version, but generally recognised as the name of a demon. The enclosure is just about the distance at which the last Tabernacle between Jerusalem and Tzuk should occur, and the messenger as he pushed the goat over the precipice would have been in full view. It is again worthy of notice that the name *Hidu* is used for "India" in the Talmud, and that the unusual name *Wâdy Abu Hindi*, "Valley father of the Indian," applies to the main ravine below el Muntâr.

As regards the mountain itself, I was delighted to find that my impression of the precipitous character of its eastern slopes was not exaggerated. El Muntâr is a great rounded hill as seen from the west, but a steep cliff as viewed from the east. A very steep slope of white marl, some hundreds of feet in height, here exists, and it would be difficult for a goat to find foot-hold in climbing on it, while if pushed over the edge it must inevitably roll to the bottom, and would no doubt be killed by the fall.

The view also from the mountain is very remarkable. Jerusalem is in full sight, the Haram Courts are visible, and the Dome of the Rock is only hidden by a group of olive trees. I was not aware that any point in this desert near Mâr Saba could be seen from the city; but the mountain appears through a gap between Olivet and the more southern hills. Thus, when the unhappy goat was pushed over the precipice, the worshippers in the Temple would have been able, by straining their eyes, almost to distin-

guish the figure of the conductor against the sky line, and the stations whence cloths were waved, to give the news of the death of the scape goat, need not have exceeded two or three in number. These observations serve to connect the mountain in a very remarkable manner with the ritual of the Day of Atonement; and the act of dismissal of the goat is brought, as it were, within the same theatre with the other ceremonies of the day. From the Mount of Olives, the course of the messengers could be distinctly seen almost throughout the whole distance of the journey, for no deep valley intervenes between the city and the Muntâr mountain, a narrow shed running out and connecting the hill with the Olivet chain.

Nor is the view east less striking; a traveller ascends the brown or tawny hill side, and finds himself at the top of the white precipice, the whole of the Judæan desert suddenly unfolds before and beneath him. On the south the Tower of Mat Saba and the peaks called Kurûn el Hayr ("horns of stone"). Beyond these the desert of Engedi, and far away south-east of Beersheba, the peaks of Safra Lawandi. On the east, the *Bukei'a* or white plateau above the cliffs, west of the Dead Sea. On the north-east the Jordan valley, the black line of the Jordan jungle, the dark thorn groves of Jericho, the white and modern Russian hotel at Erîha (one of the many Russian hospices built within the last five years in Palestine). Far away north the mysterious cone of Sartaba, and beyond all the dark slopes of Gilead and Moab, the high plateau which extends (in view) almost at an unbroken level from the Jabbok southwards, the great gorge of the Zerka M'aîr, and the dark blue waters of the Dead Sea, with the yellow sand spit at the Jordan mouth, and the long yellow line of the Lisân.

The constrast of the glaring white desert, and the dark eastern hills, between the countless knolls and ridges on the west, and the great gorges on the east, was very striking; and there is, perhaps, no view on the earth which is so weird and strange, as this panorama of the Judæan desert from the mountain of the scape goat.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, LT., R.E.

A VISIT TO 'AIN QADIS: THE SUPPOSED SITE OF KADESH-BARNEA.

AMONG the unsettled sites of the Desert of the Exodus, none is entitled to more prominence than Kadesh-barnea. Dean Stanley says: "There can be no question that next to Sinai, the most important resting place of the Children of Israel is Kadesh." Professor Palmer adds: "This is perhaps the most important site in the whole region, as it forms the key to the movements of the Children of Israel during the forty years wanderings." And Dr. William Smith declares: "To determine the position of Kadesh itself is the great problem of the whole route."

Yet there is a remarkable barrenness of material for the settlement of this important question, supplied by the notes of travellers in the Desert; and any fresh contribution to that material is likely to be heartily welcomed by Biblical scholars everywhere.

In 1842 the Rev. J. Rowlands, of Queen's College, Cambridge, discovered a fountain bearing the name Kădēs, or Qadîs, a name having the same meaning as the Hebrew "Kadesh," and was confident that this was the site of Kadesh-barnea. His account of his discovery was published in the Appendix to Williams's "Holy City," with his reasons for deeming it the disclosure of the long-desired site. At the same time, he made mention of two other wells, neither of which, however, had been visited by him, bearing "the names of Adeirat and Aseimeh, sometimes called Kadeirat and Kaseimeh," which in his opinion represented Adar and Azmon of the southern boundary of Judah. This reported discovery by Mr. Rowlands has been a fruitful source of discussion for now nearly forty years. The probable correctness of his conclusions has been recognized by such scholars as Ritter, Kalisch, Keil, Kurtz, Schultz, Winer, Professor Palmer, President Bartlett, and others well known in Germany, Great Britain, and America. On the other hand, it has been opposed by Robinson, Stanley, Porter, Espin in the "Speaker's Commentary," Hayman in "Smith's Bible Dictionary," and many others.

It is a singular fact that in all these years the site thus discovered by Mr. Rowlands has never been revisited. Indeed, it has been questioned if he did not confuse the names and the wells, Kades and Kadeirat. Dr. Robinson distinctly declares that he did so. Espin follows Robinson in this error, and on the topography of "el Ain," the location of Kadeirat, builds up an argument against the identification of Kădēs or Gadis with Kadesh-barnea. Even Professor Palmer, who agrees with Rowlands in his main conclusion, and confirms his reasoning with cogent arguments, thinks that Rowlands wrongly applied the name 'Ain Qadîs "to 'Ain el Quiderât, some miles farther northward, and seems not to have visited this spot [the true 'Ain Qadîs] at all." President Bartlett, of Dartmouth College, in his "From Egypt to Palestine," while favouring Rowlands's identification, is confident, after a visit to the region in question, that there is no such fountain as 'Ain Qadeirât, and that Rowlands was mistaken in both the location and the distinctive peculiarities of 'Ain Qadîs.

Apart, therefore, from the discussion over the identification of 'Ain Qadîs with Kadesh-barnea, there has been no little confusion as to the facts of the location and surroundings of the well itself. No traveller, except Mr. Rowlands, has ever reported a visit to 'Ain Qadîs, until President Bartlett found a well in that region which he supposed to be the one seen by Rowlands, although it did not meet the published description of it. 'Ain Kadeirât has *never* been reported as visited; and its existence has been squarely denied. The question is therefore still an open one. Are there three wells, or two; or is there only one in the region of this supposed site of Kadesh?

A scholar so familiar with both the Land and the Book as Dr. Thomson, says on this subject, in his latest work, "Southern Palestine and Jerusalem:" "When I was at Mr. Rowlands's Muweilih, I made diligent enquiries about Kadesh; but both our own Arabs and other Bedawin we met in the neighbourhood were either absolutely ignorant of such a place, under any possible pronounciation of the name, or they purposely concealed their knowledge of it." Referring to the "singularly brief and unsatisfactory" descriptions of it already given to the public, Dr. Thomson very naturally adds: "One sadly wants a little more information in regard to several points;" "for if 'Ain Qadîs be in reality the Kadesh-barnea in the wilderness of Paran, . . . it is one of the most interesting sites in the entire history of the Hebrew Wanderings."

In view of this state of the case, I am sure that a report I am now enabled to make of a personal visit to each of the three wells in question will be a matter of interest to all who are familiar with Bible geography.

About the 1st of April of this year, while crossing the Desert from Kala'at Nakhl to Hebron, I determined to satisfy myself concerning the existence and relative position of these three wells. Turning eastward from Wâdi Jerur, at about latitude 30° 28′ N., and longitude 34° 20′ E., I went on for three hours, to Jebel el Hawâdeh, over which I passed into Wâdi Qadîs. Following up this Wâdi, in a direction a little north of east, for three hours more, I came to the place so glowingly described by Mr. Rowlands, and found it all that he had pictured. It was an oasis unapproached by any I had seen in the desert since leaving Feirán, and not surpassed, within its limits, by *that*. It was carpeted with grass and flowers. Fig-trees laden with fruit were against its limestone hill-sides. Shrubs in richness and variety abounded. Standing out from the mountain range at the northward of the beautiful oasis-amphitheatre, was the "large single mass or small hill of solid rock" which Rowlands looked at as the cliff (sela) smitten by Moses to cause it to "give forth its water" when its flowing had ceased. From beneath this cliff came the abundant stream. A well, walled up with time-worn limestone blocks, was the first receptacle of the water. Not far from this was a second well similarly walled, supplied from the same source. Around both these wells were ancient watering troughs of limestone. Several pools, not walled up, were also supplied from the stream. On from the line of these pools, a gurgling stream flowed musically for several hundred yards, and then lost itself in the verdure-covered desert. The water was clear and sweet and abundant. Two of the pools were ample for bathing. Before the cliff, and around its neighbouring wells, camel and goat dung was trodden down as if by the accumulations of centuries, showing that the place was much frequented for watering purposes.

Mr. Rowlands was certainly correct as to the name, the general location, and the description of this remarkable place. It is Qadîs (قديس). There is a Jebel Qadîs, a Wâdi Qadîs, and an 'Ain Qadîs. Is is quite as far to the eastward as he put it, fully twelve to fifteen miles E.S.E. of his

Moilâhhi, or 'Ain Muweilih. The Wâdi at the head of which it is situated is an extensive and fertile plain, larger by far than er Rahah before Jebel Músa, where the Children of Israel received the Law. Remains of rude stone buildings and other ruins abound in the vicinity, showing that it was once a well peopled region.

From 'Ain Qadîs I went to 'Ain Qadeirát. Coming out of the oasis above described into the main valley of Qadîs, and following that westward for twenty minutes, I turned to the north-west, and went over a lofty mountain pass, Nakb Hâwa, descending into Wâdi Umm 'Ashîn (or Hashîn), where Sinaitic inscriptions were numerous. In two and a quarter hours after leaving 'Ain Qadîs I reached the upper end of Wâdi el 'Ain. Going down this, westerly, for half-an-hour, I came to one of the several branches with which that Wâdi is spurred, and turned up this in a north-easterly direction. At the entrance to this branch stands a noteworthy ruin, built of huge blocks of hammered stone laid in courses. It is a rectangular quadrangle, some seventy feet by seventy-five, with double walls about six feet high. Along this branch of Wâdi el 'Ain I found vegetation increasing in fulness and beauty. Trees and shrubs and grass were in luxuriance. One tree, called by our Arabs a seyal, but differing from the seyal of the lower desert, surpassed anything I had seen elsewhere. The reach of its branches had a circumference of nearly 250 feet. It had a double trunk, one arm having a girth of six feet, and the other of four and a half. Soon I heard the sound of running water. A channel of forty to sixty feet wide, bordered with flags, was the shallow bed of a running stream. At the head of this was the fountain itself, pouring a rich stream of pure and sweet waters out of the hill side, with a fall of about seven feet, into a basin of some twenty feet sweep, and from twelve to fourteen feet deep. It was such a fountain as one would expect to find in the mountains of Lebanon, rather than in the Desert. There is no wonder that the Wâdi containing it is called Wâdi el 'Ain the Wâdi of the Well. This fountain is the 'Ain Kadeirát, or Qadeirát (قصيرات), mentioned by Rowlands and Robinson, but not before visited by any traveller who has reported his visit.

After finding these two wells I visited, on the day following, the third well named by Rowlands 'Ain Kaseimeh, or Qasêmeh (قسيمة). It is several hours west and south of Qadeirát, and but little more than an hour from Moilâhhi, or by 'Ain Muweilih, thought by many to be Hagar's fountain. This place is by no means so noteworthy as either of the other two. It has been visited and described by several travellers. Professor Palmer mentions the place in "The Desert of the Exodus," vol. ii, p. 357. President Bartlett was evidently deceived by the wily Sheikh Suleiman into thinking that this Qasîmeh was Qadîs, hence his description of it is fuller and more enthusiastic than Professor Palmer's. It is found in "Through Egypt to Palestine," pp. 358–362; and I can vouch for its substantial accuracy, except as to name.

It is therefore now clear that Mr. Rowlands was correct in his reference

to the three wells; that he did not confound 'Ain Qadeirát with 'Ain Qadîs; that he did find a well bearing the name Qadîs, the Arabic equivalent of Kadesh; and that any argument based by Robinson or Espin or their followers on his supposed confusion of names and localities inevitably falls to the ground. Yet it by no means follows that the site of Kadesh-barnea is settled by this new contribution of facts bearing on that question.

Among the reasons why 'Ain Qadîs and 'Ain Qadeirát have not been found before during all these years of discussion over them, it may be said that they are in the territory of the 'Azázimeh Arabs, while the guides of travellers from Nakhl to Gaza or Hebron are of the Teyáhah Arabs, who are not on good terms with the 'Azázimeh. Moreover the superstitious fears of the Bedawín make them unwilling to disclose to Christians what they deem the riches of their more sacred wells. Again, there are comparatively few who travel over this route all all. Peculiar circumstances, which it is not necessary to detail here, enabled me to accomplish my desire of finding the much-disputed wells. In reporting of them now, I hope to call fresh attention to the exceeding desirableness and importance of a careful survey of the Negeb and Desert of et Tih, with similar thoroughness to that already secured for Western Palestine and the lower Sinaitic Peninsula.

H. Clay Trumbull.

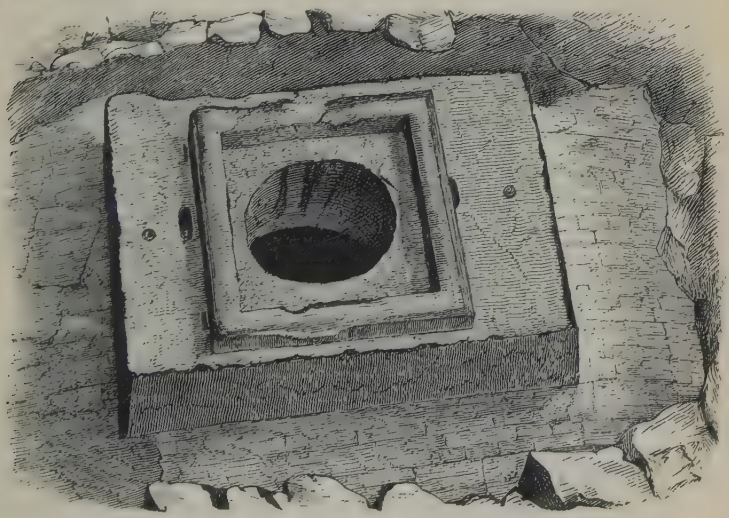
Philadelphia, U.S.A.,
June 8, 1881.

JACOB'S WELL.

Damascus,
May 17th, 1881.

Very probably some short account of a recent visit that I paid to Nablous may be of some interest to the many readers of the *Quarterly Statement*. The state of Jacob's Well is doubtless well known to the majority of your subscribers, even to those who have not themselves visited the Holy Land. It has again and again been described by the many writers on Palestine, and all have mentioned their disappointment that instead of finding any semblance to a well, or anything which could recall the interview of our Lord with the woman of Samaria, they have merely found a dark irregular hole amid a mass of ruins in a vaulted chamber beneath the surface of the ground. I have shared this disappointment on many previous visits to Nablous, and again, as a fortnight ago, I stood with my wife beside the spot, it was with great regret that we were so utterly unable to picture before us the scene so graphically described by the Evangelist. We had clambered down into the vault, and were vainly attempting to peer into the dark hole amid the heaps of stones and rubbish, when we chanced to notice, a few feet from the opening, a dark crack between the stones. Fancying that possibly it

might be another opening of the well, we removed some stones and earth, and soon were able to trace part of a carved aperture in a large slab of stone. Deeply interested at finding this, we cleared away more earth and stones, and soon distinguished the circular mouth of the well, though it was blocked by an immense mass of stone. Calling to aid two men who were looking on, with considerable labour we at length managed to remove it, and the opening of the well was clear. It is impossible to describe our feelings as we gazed down the open well, and sat on that ledge on which doubtless the Saviour rested, and felt with our fingers the grooves in the stone caused by the ropes by which the water-pots were drawn up. The following day we devoted to completely excavating round the opening of the well, and laying bare the massive stone which forms its mouth. This consists of the hard white limestone of the country, and is in fair preservation, though parts are broken away here and there. The annexed rude sketch gives some idea of its appearance.



The exact measurements I also give :—

	ft.	in.
Length....	3	9
Breadth	2	7
Thickness	1	6
Height above the pavement....	1	1
Breadth of aperture of the well	1	5½
Depth of the well	67	0
Width	7	6

We let a boy down to the bottom, but found nothing of any interest,

but evidently there is a large accumulation of rubbish. I trust that a stone of such intense interest may long remain uninjured now that it has been exposed to light.—I am, yours faithfully,

CHARLES WRIGHT BARCLAY.

The Rev. John Mill in his "Three Months' Residence at Nablus," published in 1864, at p. 45, states in reference to Jacob's Well, that "in 1855, when we first visited this place, we measured it as carefully as we could, and found it to be 9 feet in diameter, and a little more than 70 deep. But older travellers found it much deeper. . . . On my second visit in 1860, the mouth of the well was completely filled up, so that it was with difficulty I could identify the spot where it was. Nor could I learn how this had occurred. Some of my friends at Nablus thought that the torrents during the rains of the previous winter were the cause; but others believed that it was done by the inhabitants of the little village close by, on account of the well being bought by the Greek Church. The well, however, was completely hid from sight, to the great disappointment of many travellers beside myself."

"On further inquiry I learnt from the Greek priest that their Church had actually bought the well from the Turkish Government, including a plot of ground surrounding it, of 229 feet by 180 feet. For this they had paid, he told me, 70,000 piastres; but another friend, belonging to the same community, told me it was at least 100,000."

Mr. Mill also mentions that the Christians call it *Beer Samariyeh*, the "Samaritan Well," while the Samaritans themselves call it *Beer Jacub*, or "Jacob's Well." He also points out that it is not an *Ain* (עין), a well of living water, but a *ber* (באר), a cistern to hold rain water.

THE COLLECTION OF M. PÉRETIÉ.

THROUGH the kindness of Mr. Dickson, the British Vice-Consul at Beyrout, I obtained an introduction to M. Péretié, whose collection of antiques is probably the finest in Syria. Among the most interesting objects are two Phœnician mirrors with figures, which have, as M. Péretié himself remarked, a strong affinity in style to Indian representations, both in feature and in attitude. Egyptian bronzes, and a fine amethyst scarabæus from Byblos; Egyptian bas-reliefs representing Typhon and Isis from Palmyra; cuneiform bricks and Assyrian sculptures; Palmyrene figures with inscriptions in Palmyrene characters; bronzes with negro features dug up on the Syrian coast; a fine collection of coins of the Seleucidæ, including a god, one of Tryphon, which is almost unique; mediæval signet rings in the same pale gold which is found in the Crusading coinage; a collection of Venuses, and other classic figures, some of the goddesses having bracelets, armlets, and necklaces of gold—in one case with a pearl let into the necklet; gold rings, chains, and earrings;

a rude idol of ivory; a pair of French pistols, 200 years old, beautifully inlaid with silver masks and scroll work, and found at Diarbekr; Cypriote pottery, and grotesque figures like those found by Dr. Schliemann at Troy, such are some of the objects which M. Péretié has collected during a long residence in Syria. He told us that two-handed swords of the

Crusades were still in the possession of the Arabs east of Jordan, and that some of these had been purchased by Europeans. Some of the objects are of great interest to students of native worship, and the mixture of Egyptian, Negro, and Indian types in antiquities collected on the Syrian shores, while fully in accord with the views of antiquaries as to the early history of the Phœnicians, is not the less interesting and instructive.

The gem of the collection is, however, the small bronze tablet, of which a sketch traced from a photograph is enclosed, and which has already been described by M. Clermont Ganneau in the "Revue Archéologique," December, 1879. It measures 4½ inches in height, by 3¾ inches in width, and has an eye at each top corner, whereby it was suspended. It is engraved on both sides, and was intended apparently to be so hung that both sides might be seen. On the back is a kind of demon-cherub, with four wings, a lion's body, eagle's claws, a short tail, and a serpent in front. The front paws rest on the tablet, and are visible on the other side the head, which resembles a tiger's, is boldly moulded, and projects over the tablet in front. It is not unlike that of the Indian infernal goddess Kali, or Durga. It is also worthy of notice that similar heads were picked up by Layard during his Assyrian explorations, and thought to be the tops of sceptres, or the ornaments of thrones, whereas they appear, as M. Péretié pointed out, more probably to have belonged to tablets similar to that under consideration.

The design on the tablet represents the fate of the soul according to Assyrian or Phœnician belief. The tablet is divided into four compartments horizontally, the lowest being the largest, and highest the most narrow. In the top compartment, various astronomical symbols occur, many of which, as M. Ganneau points out, occur on other Assyrian monuments. On the extreme right are the seven stars, next to these the crescent, next the winged solar disc, then an eight-rayed star in a circle. The remaining symbols are less easily explained, but the last is called by M. Ganneau a "cidaris" or Persian tiara, while another appears to me to approach most nearly to the *Trisul*, or symbol of "fire," the emblem of the Indian Siva.

Below these symbols stand seven deities facing to the right, with long robes, and the heads of various animals. The first to the left resembles a lion, the second a wolf or hound, the fourth a ram, the sixth a bird, the seventh a serpent, while the third and fifth are less easily recognized.* In the third compartment a body lies on a bier, with a deity at the head, and another at the feet. These deities

* As a tentative suggestion, I may, perhaps, be allowed to propose that these seven deities are the planets, and that the symbols above belong to them as follows, commencing on the right:—

Planet.	*Assyrian Name.*	*Head of Deity.*	*Symbol.*	*Remarks.*
1. Saturn ..	Chiun ..	Serpent ..	Seven Stars ..	*A.*
2. Moon ..	Nannar ..	Bird ..	Crescent ..	*B.*
3. Sun ..	Shamash ..	Boar? ..	Winged disc ..	*C.*
4. Mars ..	Marduk ..	Ram ..	Rayed disc ..	*D.*
5. Mercury ..	Nebo ..	? ..	Two Columns ..	*E.*
6. Venus ..	Ishtar ..	Wolf? ..	Trisul ..	*F.*
7. Jupiter ..	Ishu ..	Lion ..	Cidaris? ..	*G.*

A. The serpent is often the emblem of Saturn, who, as the eldest of the seven, ("the great serpent father of the gods") naturally comes first, and therefore on the right, and has seven stars for his symbol.

have the right hand held up, and the left down (a common feature of Indian symbolism also observable in the attitude of the Mâlawîyeh derwishes), and the figure to the left appears to hold a branch, or three ears of corn. Both are robed in the peculiar fish-headed costume, with a scaly body and fish tail, which is supposed to be symbolical of the mythical Oannes, who, according to Berosus, issued from the Persian Gulf, and taught laws and arts to the early dwellers on the Euphrates. Behind the left-hand fish-god is a tripod stand, on which is an indefinite object; to the right of the other fish-god are two lion-headed human figures with eagle's claws, apparently contending with one another, the right arms being raised, the left holding hand by hand. To the right of these is another figure of Assyrian type, with a domed head-dress and beard.

In the lowest compartment the infernal river fringed with rushes, and full of fish, is represented. A fearful lion-headed goddess with eagle's claws, kneels on one knee on a horse (the emblem of death), which is carried in a kneeling attitude on a boat with bird-headed prow. The goddess crushes a serpent in either hand, and two lion cubs are represented sucking her breasts. To the left is a demon bearing a close resemblance to the one which supports the tablet itself, and who appears to urge on the boat from the bank; to the right are various objects, mostly of an indefinite character, among which M. Ganneau recognises a vase, and a bottle, a horse's leg with hoof, etc., possibly offerings to appease the infernal deities. The above explanation is mainly derived from M. Ganneau's paper; but I would venture to draw attention to the extremely Indian character of the demons represented — a point which M. Ganneau does not mention. The lion-headed goddess might well be taken for the terrible infernal deity Kali, or Durga, the worship of whose consort Yama was the original source of that of the later Serapis, whose dog was the ancestor of Cerberus.* There is also a general resemblance between this design

B. The moon, according to Lenormant, was always an older divinity than the sun.

C. The boar is often an emblem of the sun in its strength.

D. The disc (*lilu*) was the weapon employed by Marduk, the warrior-god, as mentioned by Lenormant.

E. The two pillars of Hermes are the proper emblem of the ancient Set or Thoth, the planet Mercury.

F. The *trisul* belongs properly to the Asherah, god or goddess of fertility— the planet Venus.

G. The Cidaris occurs in the Bavian sculptures, in connection with a similar emblem. In the Chaldean system, Jupiter and Venus occur together as the youngest of the planets.

It should also be noted that the position of the arms, and the long robe covering the feet, resemble the attitudes and dress of the Mâlawîyeh derwishes in their sacred dance, symbolic of the seven planets revolving (according to the Ptolemaic system) round the earth.—C. R. C.

* Possibly the two so called lion cubs may represent the two infernal dogs, which accompany Yama, in Indian mythology.

and the well-known Egyptian picture representing the wicked soul conveyed to hell in the form of a pig. The Oannes figures take the place of the two goddesses, who in Egyptian designs stand at either end of the mummy, and who form the prototypes of the two angels for whom the pious Moslem provides seats at the head and foot of his tombstone Perhaps the miserable horse who stumbles under the weight of the gigantic lion goddess, may represent the unhappy soul itself, while the three ears of corn (if I am correct in so calling them), remind us of the grains of corn which have been found in skulls dug up in Syria by Captain Burton. Corn is intimately connected with Dagon, the Syrian fish-god.

This curious tablet is, I believe, unique, and affords strong evidence of the similarity of Egyptian and Assyrian beliefs. The Egyptians are now generally acknowledged to have belonged to an Asiatic Aryan race, and the fact that the mythology of Africa, of Greece, and of Rome, had its origin in the far East is too well known to require notice; but the Assyrian mythology is as yet but imperfectly known, and the present monument, which was brought from Palmyra by a peasant, who sold it at Hamath, comes from a district directly on the line of the Phœnician march from their first settlements near the head of the Persian Gulf, to their home on the borders of the Mediterranean. I understand that M. Ganneau is anxious to study the original tablet, which I have been fortunate enough to see, in order to decipher some of the more obscure details, and intends, for that purpose, so soon as his health permits, to visit Beyrout, and to examine this interesting relic.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E.

THE HITTITES.

I.

THEIR SACRED CAPITAL.

THE announcement that Lieutenant Conder had discovered the Sacred capital of the Hittites on the shore of Lake Kades, cannot fail to interest Oriental scholars; and it may lead to more important discoveries in the history of that very ancient and remarkable people. It will be remembered that the Hittites are mentioned in Genesis among those nations who inhabited Canaan during the patriarchial period, and that it was from one of their Princes Abraham bought his burying place, the cave of Machpelah. Joshua incidentally describes the position of their country:—"From the wilderness and this Lebanon, even unto the river Euphrates, *all the land of the Hittites.*" They are not often mentioned in sacred history, but we have a few suggestive notices of their power, wealth, and warlike character.

Many years ago I visited that remote region in the valley of the Orontes where the Hittites had their chief stronghold and settlement,

and I examined with considerable care its topography and ruins. I made full notes on the spot, and perhaps if I now give, in a condensed form, the substance of those notes, it may help to stimulate further inquiry, and in some measure to direct more thorough research.

Leaving the site of the Biblical Riblah, I forded the Orontes, and rode to Tell Neby Mindow, six miles distant. It is a large artificial mound on the left bank of the river, with a village and a Muslem tomb on its top; from the latter it gets its modern name. Around it lie extensive ruins, the remains doubtless of *Laodiceia ad Libanum* mentioned by Strabo and Ptolemy, and placed by the Itinerary of Antonine 18 Roman miles from Emesa. Polybius says it lay near a lake. Some of the ruins, and the large mound, indicate a much earlier origin for the town which first occupied the site.

About a mile farther I came to a small village called Um el-Adam, where there are also ancient remains. On the right bank of the river, about half-a-mile distant, is a large rectangular enclosure surrounded by an earthern dyke, with mounds at the corners as if for defence. It seems to have been an intrenched camp; and it may perhaps mark the site occupied by the army of Nebuchadnezzer, while one of his generals was engaged in the siege of Jerusalem.

I rode on to another mound on the right bank of the river, from which I had a good view of the southern section of *Lake Kades*, and of the place where the Orontes falls into it. Thence I followed the winding shore, passing the village of Kefr Ady. Here my attention was arrested by an island some distance out in the lake, with a large artificial mound upon it; examining it carefully with my glass I thought I could discern traces of ruins on the mound, and I was sorry I had no means of reaching it, for it would most probably repay close inspection.

Continuing along the shore northwards, I passed in succession two villages, one of them on a mound, and at length reached a lofty artificial mound near the end of the lake. Ascending it I obtained a commanding view, not only of the entire lake, but of the whole surrounding country; and I here observed that across the northern end of the lake is *a dam of solid masonry*, about a quarter of a mile long, built to raise the water to such an elevation as would serve to irrigate the plain and vale beyond, and also to supply the town of Emesa. Leaving my horse, I walked along the top of the dam to a square tower at its western end, so that I might examine it more carefully, and, if possible, form some idea of its age and object. It is evidently very ancient, and is one of the most remarkable engineering works in Syria. The centre is about 14 feet high, but it decreases toward the ends. It has often been broken and repaired; and I thought I could detect in it specimens of the masonry of the ancient Syrians, as well as of the Greeks, Romans, and Turks. There can be no doubt that the dam greatly increases the size of the lake, and perhaps the statement of Abulfeda, the Arab historian, is correct, that "if the embankment were destroyed the water would flow off, the lake would cease to exist, and would become a river." The length of the lake is now

about six miles, and its greatest breadth two. Traces of the ancient canals which led the water off at a high elevation are seen, and some of them are still used for purposes of irrigation. The plain around the lake, and on both sides of the Orontes, southward as far as Riblah, and northward to Emesa, is studded with artificial mounds, each of which was doubtless the site of a primeval city, village or castle. Some of them are very large, and are covered or encompassed with ruins. Here is an ample and most inviting field for research and excavation.

Such, in substance, are my notes, written twenty-five years ago. I may observe that an account of my first journey to Lake Kades and Emesa was given in the first edition of my "Five Years in Damascus," published by Mr. Murray in 1855. I afterwards travelled through the same region several times.

If Lake Kades be artificial it would be interesting to know when and by whom the embankment was first built. It must have been before the days of Polybius, for he mentions the lake as I have already stated. There can be no doubt that its name is derived from *Kades*, the primeval capital and stronghold of the Hittites, and that city is often mentioned in the account of the wars of Thothmes I (*circa* B.C. 1630), given on one of the Egyptian tombs (see Brugsch's "Egypt," I, 291); and, still more frequently, in the stirring history of Thothmes III (*Id.* pp. 334 *seq.*). Kades was captured by Seti I, king of Egypt (*circa* B.C. 1366); but the greatest battle fought there was that between the Hittites and the Egyptians under Rameses II, most probably the Pharaoh in whose reign Moses was born. The story of the battle is contained in a contemporary papyrus still extant, and there are also pictorial representations of it on the walls of Karnac and Luxor. The latter are most interesting, as they show that the field of battle was *on the banks of a river or lake* (see Brugsch, II, p. 48). In an Egyptian poem composed by a certain Pentaur, a Theban, about two years after the battle, a translation of which is given in "Records of the Past," II, 65, *et. seq.*, I find the following words used to define the position of the Hittite army :—"They were at *the lake* of the land of the Amorites," and, from what follows, it is clear that the lake was close to the city of Kades. Another inscription of the same age, on the wall of Karnac, gives the full text of a treaty of peace drawn up between Rameses and the Hittites after the battle ("Records of the Past," IV, 25). The Hittites were themselves a literary people, and it is quite possible that among the ruins of their old capital some most interesting records of those early struggles might be found. I have now little doubt that those singular mounds which stud the plain on the banks of the Orontes, and the more ancient ruins near them, are all relics of the Hittites. The Hittites also seem to have been the original founders of that great embankment which dams up the waters of the Orontes, and forms the lake Kades. The discovery of the exact site of their ancient sacred capital *Kades* "the Holy," and the excavation of its primeval remains, would rank among the most valuable results of Palestine Exploration.

Queen's College, Belfast, 16 *May*, 1881. J. L. PORTER.

II.

Their Inscriptions.

In the *Quarterly Statements* of October, 1880, and April, 1881, there appear some notices of the Hittite inscriptions from the pen of Mr. Dunbar Heath. As during the last two years I have devoted considerable study to the inscriptions and the history of the Hittite tribes, I would venture to ask you to allow me space to say a few words in reply to some of the statements and the translations put forward by Mr. Heath. It may be well for me to state at the commencement of my remarks upon the subject, that I do not profess to be a profound student of the Newtonian Philosophy, nor do I possess a deep understanding of the doctrine of probabilities by which Mr. Heath is enabled to toy so freely with his figures; making letters, roots, formatives, to vibrate in harmony with each other and producing a "musical result." I most certainly must say that I cannot understand the system upon which Mr. Heath claims to have deciphered these inscriptions. The translations which he has proposed seem to me to be the most curious readings of inscriptions which I have ever as yet seen. I am willing to admit that the Aramaic commercial language or dialects of Syria have a somewhat mixed vocabulary, but they certainly never afforded such strange examples of ungrammatical and base writing as Mr. Heath would make the Hamathites use. In the latest contrast tablets of the Babylonian Empire of the time of Nabonidus (B.C. 556), Cyrus (B.C. 538), Darius (B.C. 521), or even as late as the Seleucidæ (B.C. 312), where the language is vernacular and therefore liable to decay and to exhibit a mixed vocabulary, there is not an approach to any such linguistic confusion as Mr. Heath would wish us to believe was current at Hamath in the time when the Hittite inscriptions were written. In Babylonia, with its polyglot population and its assemblage of "all nations, people and tongues," such a mixed vernacular might have existed, but the *inscriptions prove did not.* I am therefore, on the theory of probabilities, loath to suppose that it existed at Hamath or Carchemish.

Thus far perhaps Mr. Heath may think that I am only theorising, and not producing sound evidence to the contradiction of his theory; I will now pass to a stronger argument. If the Hittites spoke a quasi-Semitic language, and wrote their inscriptions in that dialect, how is it that their kings and their towns have non-Semitic names? Here we may call in the aid of contemporaneous inscriptions from Assyria and Egypt, and we shall see that certainly they were not Semitic. Such royal names as Mauthanar, Maurosar, Sapalil, Kitasar, which appear in the Egyptian inscriptions, with the personal names of Thargathazaz, Zauzaz.* Marzarima are not, as Brugsch Bey states, capable of explanation by Semitic languages. Nor are the names in the Assyrian inscriptions, such as Sangara, Irkhuleni, Lubarna, who were kings of Carchemish, Hamath, and

* All these names are of contemporaries of Rameses I and II, B.C. 1300.

Azaz in the ninth century before the Christian era. I may also mention Sapalulme, king of the Patinai, Buranate, king of the Yazbukians. In the eighth century we meet with the same class of names, such as Pisiris of Carchemish, Tarkhulara, king of Sambum or Zeugama, the site of which is marked by the village of Balkis, a little north of Beredjik, Tarkhunazi, king of Milid, and others.

In the geographical inscriptions and in the tribute lists and historical records we meet with many names peculiar to the land of the Hittites.

Among these are a number ending in as, az, and zaz. Mairkhnas, Magnas, Ziras, Tainiras, Thukamras, Zarnas, which appear as Hittite towns in the lists of Thothmes. In the Assyrian inscriptions we have Khazaz and Alzi and Puruluz, which are cities of the Hittites.

Having quoted these somewhat strange names, both geographical and personal, I will say a few words with regard to them. In the case of the geographical names I would point out that of those ending in az, as, or zaz, there are yet traces in the localities where these cities were. Both by geographical and historical details, the city of Khazaz, whose king, Lubarna, opposed Shalmanesar II (B.C. 858), is to be identified with the town of Azaz, situated north-west of Aleppo, a city which has been important under Hittites, Assyrians, Greeks, Romans, and Saracens. I visited the place last year, and its lofty tell and ruined castle show that it is the same city as is represented on the bronze gates from Balawat. During my stay at Aleppo my attention was called to a number of village names in the regions of North Syria, which appear to be neither Arabic or Turkish, such as *Anaz*, north of Azaz, *Armenaz*, *Keftenaz*, *Teftanaz*, *Eminaz*, *Kournaz*, towns in the Jebel Ala and the valleys of the Orontes and the Khoweik. I am inclined to think that in these names we have a survival of the Hittite names in az and zaz. I will now pass to the personal names, as they aid us in effecting the Hittite alliance, which Mr. Heath would break up.

The name Thargathazaz, which Dr. Brugsch gives, is close akin to the names of Tarrik-nazi and Tarrik-lara, and the name of the king on the silver boss, Tarrik-dimmi-dimmi. Mr. Heath denies that the boss is Hittite, yet on it are six characters, all of which appear at Carchemish, on the lintel (?) which Mr. Heath has read. In the list of names given by Dr. Brugsch of Hittite towns is Talekh or Tarekh, a name very close to that of Tarrik, and the name would appear to survive in the Hittite land for a little north of Carchemish or Jerablons on the Euphrates in the village of Tarknis.

Mr. Heath denies that the inscriptions at Karabel, on the rocks at Boghaz Keui or Eyuk, are Hittite; how then does he account for their being written in characters every one of which are found on his texts at Carchemish and Hamath, or how is it that the people from the lands where these inscribed monuments were erected appear in alliance with Hittites at the battle of Kadesh? Such inscriptions as these from Hamath and Carchemish, cut in hard black granite and basalt, are in every probability the records of royal personages, either dedications to the gods or

records of victories, and when they are read, as they *will be*, but *are not yet*, they will furnish us with names akin to those of the kings mentioned by the contemporaneous kings of Assyria and Egypt.

The only monument in this country which has been read does furnish a name such as is akin with other Hittite names, and so must the inscriptions from sites such as Carchemish and Hamath if they are correctly translated. Mr. Heath talks very glibly of an "emphatic looking aleph," and of expressions of causation, command, and possession; surely the kings who ordered the stones to be carved at Hamath or the lintel at Carchemish would not trouble to cut hard black granite to record such a thing as the charming of a sick man, and he one, by Mr. Heath's own showing, having no title of royalty or office.

Our knowledge of the Hittite inscriptions is not in an advanced state, being at present confined to four syllabic characters and two ideographs which are derived from the bilingual inscriptions on the boss. I may say, in reply to those who call this boss a forgery, let them prove the need or call for a Smyrna silversmith to forge an inscription in one little known and one quite unknown language, and I will believe in the spurious character of the disc. Had the inscription been in Egyptian and Cuneiform then it may have been a forgery, or had the name of the king been less like a Hittite name then the possibility of its forged character might have been admited, but it cannot be now.

We cannot read the Hittite inscriptions, but still we can gather many facts relating to the kings and people which are of interest, and with none of which do Mr. Heath's theories agree. When more inscriptions have been recovered, and when explorations have been made on sites where bilingual inscriptions are likely to be found, then we can speak of reading the inscriptions.

Until that time it is premature to put forward readings such as Mr. Heath has attempted. I am certain that when the inscriptions are deciphered they will not contradict the historic records of the nations in contact with the Hittites as they now do. The question of the relation of the Hittites to the Aramean tribes is one which I will ask you at some future time to give me space to say a few words upon.

W. St. C. Boscawen.

III.

Note on Above.

Knowing the great value of your space, I will answer Mr. Boscawen as briefly as possible.

Mr. Boscawen says he does not profess to be a profound student of the Newtonian philosophy. It is not necessary that he should be so; but nevertheless all knowledge comes to us through the methods of that philosophy, and nothing in Mr. Boscawen's paper shows me that I have

erred in the application of it. Mr. Boscawen considers that my results are very unlikely, in consequence of the fact that they result in a "mixed vocabulary." Now my dictionary contains about 40 words, and in order to understand the charge, I should be glad of a few instances in which this property of *mixture* appears. Take the first three words, *asukh* an oil-jar, *ashteka* to contemplate, and *ashibna* we restored. I really know not what the accusation means.

Mr. Boscawen says that the names of Hittite kings and towns are non-Semitic. Very likely. But then the names of Oxford and Cambridge Rhyd-Uchain and Caer-Grawnt are not English, and Laban the Syrian appears to have spoken Aramæan. It is also to be remarked that in the select Egyptian Hieratic Papyri, the Semitic words seem to be Aramæan, and that the Greek alphabet also was Aramæan.

As to the Cilician Boss, and other small finds, any one interested should give us an enlarged lithographic copy. It is a question of eyesight, and I do not at present see them to be Hittite. Fifty times more important than the Boss question is that of the name Jerablus. I read it in three places without the *l*, and I should be very much puzzled indeed if there be an *l*. Professor Wright has gone carefully into the subject, and says the *l* is due wholly to European travellers.

DUNBAR ISIDORE HEATH.

Esher, Surrey.

THE ASSYRIANS IN EASTERN PALESTINE AND SYRIA DESERTA.

THE existence of an Aramæan or Arab Semitic population as a trading element in Babylonia, together with the non-Semitic Sumero-Akkadian population, at a period as early as the eighteenth or nineteenth century before the Christian Era, is proved by the occurrence of Semitic names of a marked Arab character in the contract tanets of the time of the Kassite or Cossea dynasty founded by Khammuragas. Such names as Abbu, Abikhibu Libet, Kainuv (Hebrew Cain), Abbu (Abel), Mukhatu Pirkhu, and the many compound names formed with the gods Sin (Moon), and Shamas (Sun), both Arab deities as elements, seem to indicate the origin of the population who at this early period appear in the marts of Ur and Erech. It may not be a mere accident that the inscriptions of a bilingual class which were compiled by the scribes of Babylonia at an early period, and afterwards copied and re-edited by the scribes of Assurbanipal, are all of a commercial character, the non-Semitic phrases in one column being translated into Semitic Babylonian or Assyrian in the other. This would seem to show that the exigencies of trade produced these primitive editions of Clifton and Ollendorf.

Even earlier than the use of the Kassite dynasty, which is to be identified with the Median dynasty of Berosus, a Semitic population to

the north-west of Babylonia was known, and its character is clearly indicated by the generic name given to the people by the writers of the inscriptions. The name *Sukhi* (𒅗𒄭𒆪 𒀀 𒄑𒄑) appended to these tribes at a very early period is evidently like the Egyptian name Shasu, derived from their wandering life and marauding character, and we may connect it with the Hebrew root סָחָה. The root in Assyrian has the sense of "to rebel, to revolt, to create rebellion," and the noun, *Sikhu*, a revolt, occurs several times, notably in the Eponym Canon (W. A. I., 11, 52, lines 9, 10, 11, 25). We may conclude, therefore, that this name *Sukhi*, like the Egyptian Shasu, from the root שָׁסָה which signified the "plunderers," "spoilers," as the Arab Bedouin, was a characteristic name. The two curious inscriptions of Sargon I, King of Agane, give accounts of expeditions into Syria, but, as only general terms, such as the west, and Elam are employed, together with the "Great Sea," no historical argument can be based on these inscriptions. We may conclude that the Semitic population of Assyria was the outcome of these Semitic nomads who had been tempted to come into Chaldea, and be civilised by the learning and wisdom of the Chaldeans. And Abram, the ancestor of the Hebrew race, may be taken as one of the descendants of these primitive *fellahin*, who had settled round Ur.

It has been thus far necessary to sketch the early contact between Babylonia and the tribes of the desert and the West, in order to gain a knowledge of their character, and the name given to them shows the land to have been occupied by a nomadic people given to making *razzias* across the River Euphrates. That this was the case, is shown by the oft-recurring passages in the astronomical tablets, "The cattle of Akkad safely in the desert lie," "The foe plunders, and the corn of the land devours and seizes."

In about the thirteenth century before the Christian Era, this population became settled, and petty kingdoms were established on the west of the Euphrates. All along the Euphrates, both on the east and west bank, colonies of Arameans sprang up, and in the time of Tiglath-paliser I, B.C. 1120, they had obtained considerable power, and were largely connected with trade. The campaign of Tiglath-paliser I in Aram Zobah and the border of the Hittite land, is found recorded on his cylinder. (W. A. I., 1, p. 13, col. v, 44-63.) "In the service of Assur my lord, my chariots, and warriors, I gathered a divination (mut-bara),* I took. . . . . the land of the Armaya (Arameans) opponents of Assur my lord, then I marched from the frontiers of the land of the Sukhi (Bedouins), as far as the city of Kar-Gamish (Carchemish), of the land of the Hittites. . . In one day I swept (akhbudh),† their soldiers I slew, their spoil, their wealth, and property innumerable. . . I recovered.‡ The

* Root הָבַר.

† Hebrew חָבַט, beat out, thrash out, devastate.

‡ Returned to myself.

remainder of their host, who from before the arrows of Assur my lord had fled away, and the river Euphrates they had crossed. After them in boats of inflated skins, the river Euphrates then I crossed. Six of their cities which are situated at the foot of the mountains of Bisri. . . I captured and with fire I burned . . threw down and dug up ; and their wealth to my city of Assur I brought." During this raid the Assyrian king captured the city of Pitru or Pethor, the birth-place of Balaam. From the Kurkh inscription of Shalmanesar we have the following passage referring to that city: "At that time also (B.C. 854) to the city Assur-utir-azbat, which the men of the Hittites the city of Pethor call, which is above the river Sagura (*Sajur*), on the far bank (west) of the river Euphrates, and the city of Mutkin, which is on the near bank (east) of the Euphrates, which Tiglath-paliser I, the ancestor, the prince my predecessor had united to my country from Assur-rab,—Amar, King of Assyria, the King of the Arameans (Arumu), by force had spoiled. These cities to their place I restored." This passage shows that during the period of weakness which followed the death of Tiglath-paliser I (B.C. 1100), the Arameans had recovered the city of Pethor, an important Aramean city, and one which they appear to have regarded as one of the sacred cities. The above passages give us clearly the northern boundary of the Arameans. The city of Carchemish, the stronghold of the Hittites, was one day's forced march from the frontier of the Sukhi ; and Pethor lay in the direct line, and above the river Sagura of the text, which we must identify with the modern Sadjur. The Sadjur is at the point where the old caravan road following the Euphrates crosses it three hours from Jerablus, the ruins of Carchemish, therefore from 10 to 11 miles at the pace my horses went. Above this river, and on the road to Carchemish, was the city of Pethor, and, apparently, with a city or fort on the opposite side of the river. The site of Pethor I feel certain will be found at Tokari-Tash-atan, a name which to this day retains an echo of the old name. There is a small stream flowing down from the limestone hills which form the watershed between the Sadjur and the Euphrates, and on this stream at the point where the caravan road crosses it, is the village of Tokari-Tash-atan. The natives say that the village derives its name from an old stone in the bed of the stream which was thrown there by an ancient Moslem Sheik, Tash-atan, meaning "he threw the stone." The stone in question proved, when I examined it, to be an old Roman milestone, very much defaced, but still with letters such as MCC, etc., remaining on it to prove its original use. We know that the Greco-Roman colonists called Carchemish Hierapolis, which the Arab conquerors corrupted into Jerablus, and the Turks into Jerabis.* It would therefore seem that they confounded Pethor or Pitru with one of the numerous Petra or Petræ. The Turks translated the confused name by the Tashatan, "the village of (he who) threw the Stone," thus the

* The name of this village is Yorablus among the Arabs, (يرابلس); the mound being *Kalaat Yerablus*. Jerabis is the Turkish corruption.

name may be traced. The proof of my argument will be found in the exploration of the large mound a little to the south-east of the village, between it and the Euphrates, and I feel certain, from a hasty inspection of the site, that it will re-pay exploration, as well if not better than Jerablus. There are fewer Greek and Roman remains about than at Jerablus, and so more of an earlier date may be expected.

The Arameans, as I pointed out before, had colonies all along the Euphrates, and when I come to speak of the wars of Assur-nazir-pal, and Shalmanesar II, in Aram Zobah and Damascus, the Hauran, &c., I shall have occasion to mention them more particularly. This explains the statement made in Numbers xxii, 5 : "He (Balak) sent messengers, therefore, to Balaam, the son of Beor, to Pethor פְּתוֹר which is by the *river of the land of the children of his people*" (*i.e.*, the Euphrates) ; and again, in chapter xxiii, "the King of Moab hath brought me *out of Aram*, out of the mountains of the East." These passages from the inscription, and from the Scriptures, would connect the Arameans of the Euphrates Valley and Eastern Syria with the Moabites, and would account for Carchemish, *once* an Aramean city, but, taken by the Hittites, having a Semitic name.

During the period from B.C. 1100, until the accession of Assur-nazir-pal in B.C. 885, the Aramean or Syrian confederation had made great progress. In this interval the Jewish kingdom under Saul, David, and Solomon, had grown up, and the kingdom of Damascus, and of Aram Zobah, with those of Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Saba, or the Arabs, were all formed out of the mass of partially nomadic tribes of colonies of fellahin settled round strongholds or commercial stations on the Euphrates, or in various parts of Syria Deserta and the regions east of Jordan. In the time of David we have Hadadezer king of Aram, Zobah, and Hanun king of Ammon. During the reign of Solomon, we have the names of Hadad and Genubath as kings of Edom and Resin in Damascus. The foundation of Tadmor by Solomon, was intended to divert the Syro-Babylonian caravan route which, from time immemorial, had passed along the Euphrates, and through Carchemish into a more direct channel across the Syrian desert. It connected the Aramean tribes on the Euphrates and about the mouth of the Khabour, with Damascus and Syria direct. In the month Sivan,* B.C. 879, the Assyrian king Assur-nazir-pal started from Kalah (*Nimroud*), and, after crossing the Tigris and the river Kharmis, the modern Sinjar, سنجار the classical Hermus,† he reached the Khabur, and followed its course as far as the city of Sadi-kanni, now Araban. Following the course of the river as far as its junction with the Euphrates, he received tribute of the city of Sirki, the classical circesium, the modern Karkesi (قرقيسيا). The towns in these regions all bore names of strongly Aramean type, such as Dur-kuvlimi, Bit-khalupi, Tsupri, Nagara-bani, Khindani. These towns and districts were situated between the mouth of

* The third month, May.

† The upper part of the Sinjar, called N-al Huali.

the Khabour and the Wâdy el Seba. In his inscription the king thus speaks of the march through this district: "From the city of Khindani I departed in the mountains over against the Euphrates; I established a camp." These mountains must be the limestone ranges on the east bank, north of the Wâdy el Saba. The inscription states further, "I then departed from the mountains, and in Bit Sabaya (Wâdy el Saba), I encamped in the approach to the city of Kharidi" (Erzi). Departing from here the king next halted at the commencement of the city of Anat (Annah)* Anat was situated on the opposite side of the Euphrates. Starting from here, the Assyrian king marched against the stronghold of the Sukhi (Bedouins), the city of Suru, the modern Sura or Soiera, a little south of Annah. The king of the Sukhi was Sadudu or Sadad (the invader). This opponent of the King of Assyria was aided by the Arameans or Chaldeans from Babylonia, commanded by the brother of Nabu-bal-iddina, King of Babylon, Zabdanu by name. The allies were defeated, and Sadad threw himself into the Euphrates, and swam across to save his life. The capture of these cities, and the whole of the Aramean colonies from the city of Ittu or Hit, as far as the mouth of the Sadjur, and the land of the Hittites, quite destroyed the commercial caravan route which had been established across the desert from Damascus *viâ* Tadmor, and the old line *viâ* Carchemish was once more used. The existence of these colonies of Arameans on the banks of the Euphrates, the Khabour and the Singar or Hermias, in the ninth century B.C., shows very clearly where we are to place Aram-Nahraim. In this region it exactly corresponds with the Nairi of the Assyrians and the Naharian of the Egyptians.

The principal kingdoms of the Eastern Arameans were:—

East. *Bit Adini*, from the Khabour as far north as Kalaat Nedjim or Tul Barsip, the Barsamsi of Ptolemy. This was the Eden of Ezekel xxvii, 23. "Haran, Kalneh and the merchants of Sheba, Assur and Chilmad were thy merchants." The Sheba (שְׁבָא) here is not the Arabian Sheba, but the Sabaya of the inscriptions of Assur-nazir-pal, now the Wâdy el Seba.

West. The S'ukhi or semi-nomadic population corresponding to the fellahin Arab of the present.

Laka. North of the Sukhi, extending along the present caravan route to Aleppo. The name is perhaps preserved in Lachadur and Lachadamie stations on that route.

The *Arumu* or Arameans, about the Sadjur and the country round Aleppo southward as far as Damascus. In the northern portion of this district, round Carchemish and Khilbun (Aleppo) the population was Aramean, but the Hittite conquerors were the dominant class, and ruled in these cities.

Up to the end of the reign of Assur-nazri-pal, B.C. 869, the Assyrian armies had only penetrated to the extreme west, the "shores of the sea

* This expression is interesting, as Annah is a town extending a long way upon the river bank.

of the setting sun," by the route through Carchemish, the plain of North Syria, and the valleys of the Afrin and Orontes. In the reign of Shalmanesar II (B.C. 860-824), we shall find them in Eastern Palestine, Aram Zobah, and the regions of Bashan, Moab, and the Hauran.

It has been necessary to sketch thus, in as brief a manner as possible, the connection between the Arameans of the Euphrates Valley and Assyrians, in order the better to understand the connection which these tribes had with those of the lands of Moab and Ammon. This above *rēsumé* of the growth of the Syrian tribes enables us very clearly to see the nature of the kingdom of Solomon, King of Israel, the Alexander of the Arameans and Syrians, which reached from *the river* unto the land of the Philistines.

W. St. Chad Boscawen.

(*To be continued.*)

EGYPTIAN VIEW OF THE EXODUS

From the "Sixth Anastasi Papyrus."

Within the last two or three years the history of the Exodus has aroused a much larger amount of interest than usual. Witness, among other signs, the publication of Brugsch—that of the anonymous author of the "Hebrew Migration from Egypt,"—and last, not least, the trans-Jordan expedition. As there is a great deal to say on the subject from Egyptian sources I will begin the collation of it at once.

The sixth Anastasi Papyrus was written by a very famous man, named Enna, who stood in close relation as a correspondent to another famous man, the scribe of the Treasury or Finance, named Kek-Kebu. The "Papyrus" contains six large pages, of which I notice at present only two and a half.

The first page is filled up by a splendid superscription in large letters, which may be condensed into the words "Under the reign of Seti II," viz., "Set-Emenephtah." I omit the usual long titles, but note that Seti is called a Ra-Horus, and son of a Ra-Horus, viz., not a mere Regent as his brother Bai-n-Ra Meneptah was, but a reigning king and son of a reigning king. His coffin is in the British Museum, with the word "Set" chipped out. Manetho would thus naturally read him as Emenophis, and his grandson Rameses III shows us in the great Harris papyrus how this Seti was unable to hold the Delta. In fact, after the deaths of his father Rameses II and his Brother Bai-n-Ra, he executed a strategic movement towards Ethiopia. This papyrus is, however, sufficient to show us that his civil and military officers were not obliged to leave their posts in the Delta, and in mitigation of the charge of cowardice, it is stated that when Seti ascended the throne he was upwards of 60 years old, infirm, blind, and helpless. Here follows the first letter :—

"The scribe Enna, for the satisfaction of his lord, viz., for the scribe of

the treasury Kek-Kebu in the palace. This comes to give an account to my lord. Whenever I am to give a full reckoning, to leave to those that shall come after me, perfectly safe will be the goods and chattels. I shall have caused no deficiency to my lord since I have come to his property."

This is the ordinary common opening between the official at home and the scribe on an expedition. Going on with the letter, he says, "I brought up the fleet, which gave me its protection. This it gave to me as far as up to the men of the magazine, in the fortress of Tabnet, which fortress the military scribe, the commissary of cattle, had dug, who was posted at the fortress of Tabnet. The work was completed in 23 days, but its watch fell off, and the head astrologer took every step that was wrong. He forced my three serving men whom he took before the General Huee, with whom was the scribe Ptah-m-heb."

Here we see the political position coming already into view. A strong hostility is evident between our well known Enna the scribe *par excellence* of Seti II, and directed against the representative of the astrological party. In other words, between the civil and military officers who remained in the Delta when deserted by Seti II. The programme of the military was the digging of fortifications to protect every little village in the Delta. This points to the state of things explained in the great Harris Papyrus, when Emenophis had retired leaving the Delta open to Siptah Thuoris and the strong Mediterranean maritime Powers.

All through this Papyrus the party which opposed the military party in the Delta was specially the Finance or Treasury department. I cannot at present lay my hand upon the evidence, but I stated 25 years ago in my "Exodus Papyri," that the head of the Treasury was Phinehas, second son of the Great Regent Bai-n-Ra Meneptah Hotep-hi-ma. Bai-n-Ra, who saved his country for a time at the great battle of Prosopis, was a loyal friend of the Hebrews; and the very name of his second son Phinehas shows his close relations with the Semites. The letter proceeds. "Now it came to pass that while I numbered the Sem people on the list, he" (the head astrologer) "carried off the Sem people in the fortress. Then it came to pass that he made me number them on the list in the Temple of Rameses. When the people forced him in the fortress, he could not stand against the collected leaders. He made me carry the Sem people to the Temple of Nebt-hotep. He brought also two women to me, who said, 'Let the head of the Treasury end the matter.'"

If must be remembered that the papyrus from which I take this is not in a very good condition, but I cannot doubt that I am substantially right in my translations hitherto. It results, then, on Egyptian evidence, that a certain Sem people, supported by the civil authorities, managed to get together to the Temple of Nebt-hotep; notwithstanding the opposition of the military party. There is now a gap of half a line, after which we read:—

"I pacified (?) the Sem people, who brought up people by my side to say, let the slaves of the Sem people go with it, for there is favour for the slaves of the Sem people before the Head of Finance. So they were

allowed to perform the Service in the month Paoni their beginning of months."

I hesitate in presence of two words which I have here passed over. The fact is that, after the publication of my "Exodus Papyri" I left off Egyptology, and have only lately resumed it. The sentence, however, seems to identify the Egyptian beginning of their month Paoni with the new year's day among the Sem people at the time these events were taking place. The calculations are all made in my "Exodus Papyri," the result being that in B.C. 1291, which Miss Corbaux holds as the date of the Exodus, the first new moon after the vernal equinox was visible on what we call April 6, which the Egyptians at that time call the beginning of Paoni.

The statement here made, viz., that the Sem people (probably the Semites) had themselves slaves under them, may modify our view on the miseries endured by the Hebrews. Leave, however, having at last been given to these slaves of slaves, they "took the robes which had been brought up before the Head of Finance, to give an account to my lord. The robes were brought and the Head of Finance caused them to be looked to."

"Royal Robes	87
Other Robes	64
Other Robes	27
In all	178."

This part of the papyrus is in good condition, and I apprehend there can be no dispute about the translation. It is surprizing that this spoiling of the Egyptians has been for 25 years pointed out and no notice taken of it. From the Egyptian point of view, it appears that the great Exodus consisted of many small movements, each of them being of manageable size. If every 50th person collected at the Temple of Nebt-hotep considered himself or herself entitled to a splendid robe, there would have been about 8,000 desirous of attending the national annual ceremonies.

"When the numbering was over, I disposed the people before the leaders. The leaders, said to it, 'Let the people be complete in everything that is arranged for it.' There was put down for me four days for the journey which the leaders made. The second military scribe gave it the start. He also brought aid of carriers. He brought also two women at the waters of who said, 'Let each child go.' He did not allow it. He was after the cattle of the head commissary Moses."

Thus, from the Egyptian point of view, Moses superintended herds of cattle, and this presence of a Moses makes it probable that Enna is here describing the chief among the many small movements for keeping the new year's day. A military scribe seems to have been obliged to accompany the four days' expedition, showing, however, his annoyance by refusing a request about the children. It is also very curious to observe that up to the time when the sacred robes were given out the account has

related to the Sem people, but after the slaves of the Sem people had leave to accompany the expedition, the "people" alone are named, and the name of Sem is dropped.

Thus have I done my best with one and a half pages out of five, exclusive of the title page. There is more in this papyrus of the very highest interest. Among other things, I feel called upon with great regret to say that Dr. Brugsch has done harm by circulating his account from this papyrus of the Shasu people passing from Edom into Egypt. My translation of the passage is now 25 years old, and will be found in my "Exodus Papyri," p. 183. Dr. Brugsch begins with "we have carried into effect." There is possibly a "we," but nothing about "carrying into effect." In fact the papyrus is a confession throughout of the weakness of the Egyptians before the Shasu. Dr. Brugsch goes on "from the land of Edom." There is no word signifying "from." "Through the fortress." There is no word signifying "through." "To the city Pithom, etc., situated in the land of Thuku." Dr. Brugsch in his own book of "Foreign Geography," plate xvi, gives us his own map of Palestine showing that Thuku was in Edom. How, then, could the Shasu pass from Edom to Thuku, which is in Edom?

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MEGIDDO.

MEGIDDO has thrice to do with horses and chariots, in the case of Sisera, Ahaziah, and Josiah, but its connection with Mujedda, three miles south-west of Bethshean, is merely a mare's-nest.

This identification put forward in *Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 13, repeated in "Tent Work," but apparently abandoned in his "Handbook," is once more revived (1881, p. 87) by Lieutenant Conder, when, on returning from the slaughter of Abu Gheith, with the head of Beth Aphrah in his hand (my overlooking of the *li* in *Beth li Aphrah* I can only explain on the principle "humanum est errare"), he finds a Jonathan ready to embrace his theory (1880, p. 224).

It is best to repel this advance at once, and without delay tight out the topographical battle of Megiddo, before more allies come up.

We propose to show (1) that Megiddo was near Taanach (now Taanuk), and (2) that the only feature near Taanach answering to *the waters of Megiddo* are the streams near Lejjun. If these points be proved, then it is *certain* that Megiddo was situated *at* or *close to* Lejjun (as proposed by D. Robinson), and not at Mujedda.

(1). That Megiddo was near Taanach is somewhat probable from Joshua xii, 21; xvii, 11; 1 Kings iv, 12; 1 Chron. vii, 29; where the two names occur in juxtaposition. As however Judges i, 27, is against us, we turn for certainty to Judges v, 19–21: "The kings came and fought in (= near)

Taanach, by (= near) the waters of Megiddo." These words evidently describe a *battle*, and not a campaign. Therefore, as the kings fought near both these places, it is obvious that they must have been near one another. Thus (it seems to me) our first point is already fully made out.

But suppose for a moment that Megiddo was not near Taanach, but at Mujedda. Then we have to believe that Barak and his ten thousand, armed with staves and ox-goads, or at the best with bows and slings, fought along a line of nearly sixteen miles, while most of the Canaanites must have galloped up the valley of Jezreel, before they could be swept away by the Kishon. The whole supposition is supremely ridiculous. The *known* site of Taanach so afflicts Lieutenant Conder's theory, that he has to put a gloss on this reference to it, offering these alternatives (1877, p. 15). "The words 'in Taanach' must either be taken to be a district name applying to all the plain, of which Taanach was the capital, or it must be translated to its meaning 'sandy soil.'" No doubt "in Taanach" does describe that part of the plain which was near Taanach, but certainly not the *whole breadth* of the plain as far as the northern hills, under which Lieutenant Conder thinks the battle took place; while, again, as Taanach is five times (above, and Judges i, 27), connected with Megiddo, it is an inadmissible throwing of dust to take the word differently in the *sixth* instance. The vagueness too of describing the plain near Tabor as *by* or (Lieutenant Conder) *above* the waters of Mujedda is certainly not like the precision of topographical notices in the Bible; but on this point Lieutenant Conder offers no comment. Barak's battle, however, would not be more real than that of the Titans if its site were just *at the foot of Tabor*, thirteen miles from Taanach, and sixteen from Megiddo, if placed *at Mujedda;* while, again, the last place is fifteen miles from Taanuk. The italicized positions are obviously at variance with Judges v, 19—21; indeed, they are quite impossible, and the theory arises from an initial error as to the right position of the Kishon in Judges iv, 7, 13; v, 21.

This Lieutenant Conder fixes at "a place called *el Mujahîyeh*, where there is an extensive chain of pools and springs about three miles west of the foot of Mount Tabor." He thinks also that the above passages require this position; that Josephus confirms it in "Ant.," v, 5, 3; "Barak camped at Mount Tabor . . . Sisera met them, and pitched not far from the enemy." (In Josephus, however, *not far* may mean anything); that "the advantage obtained by Barak in his impetuous descent from the mountain on the enemy in the plain is evident;" that had the battle taken place at Taanach, he "would have had to come the whole width of the great plain, and would have attacked from low ground the enemy on the spurs of the hills, far away from the main bed of the Kishon." He also adds (1881, p. 88), "It is an assumption which contradicts Scripture that the stream from Lejjun is the ancient Kishon."

Here are several errors, one of which must be pointed out.

As to the position of the Kishon. Since Sisera's army was gathered to the river Kishon, and the battle was fought near Taanach, it is clear that the main watercourse in the plain below Taanuk *must* be the brook

Kishon in Judges iv, v. For if Sisera had encamped at el Mujahiyeh, he must have turned southwards, and Barak must have passed him, to fight near Taanach; a thing utterly absurd, as Barak was on Tabor. Thus, "the assumption which contradicts Scripture" is really Lieutenant Conder's own.

My notion of the battle is this:—

From Tabor, Barak descended *on foot* (as is emphatically stated) to the valley (*Emek*) between Tabor and Endor. The watchmen of Sisera in Taanach (or in Megiddo) must have spied afar off "the advance of the ten thousand" rustics over the great plain (*Bikath Megiddo*). The little army, without shield and spear, seemed marching to sure destruction; meanwhile Sisera was not slow to seize the opportunity, little thinking that he was about to fall into his own trap. Leaving his encampment at the foot of the hills, he hastily crossed the Kishon with his nine hundred chariots and vast host, marshalled in Hamitic array (like the Egyptians and Zulus), in an extended line, and soon the long wings of the dragon had enclosed Barak's little flock of kids. Escape now seemed impossible, yet not to faith. The battle began; but suddenly the clouds poured out water, "the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon the house" of Canaan, "and it fell, and great was the fall of it." At once the horses and chariots moved heavily in the viscous mud; soon the whole plain was a quagmire; before long the recently dry watercourse became a foaming torrent, sweeping away the terrified Canaanites that tried to ford it; while the rest of the enemy, fleeing in a north easterly direction, were pursued by the fleet hinds of Naphtali (Gen. xlix. 21; Judges iv. 6), and overtaken and scattered near Endor, whereupon Sisera alighted down off his chariot and fled away *on his feet*.

The passages in Judges and Psalm lxxxiii, relating to the brook Kishon, thus seem to be in perfect agreement with the natural meaning of the words, "then fought the kings of Canaan in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo," and we conclude that *our first point is proved*, viz., *Megiddo was near Taanach*.

(2). The waters of Megiddo were the streams near Lejjun. On reference to the Great Map we find four miles N.N.W. of Taanak abundant perennial streams flowing from the hills near Lejjun.

These are the nearest to Taanuk, and to find the next we must go five miles further, to Wâdy el Kûsab, which is nine miles from Taanuk. As Sisera would hardly need so extended an encampment, we have at once to admit that *the waters of Megiddo* were the copious streams rising in the neighbourhood of Lejjun, which or near which was the famous city of Megiddo. I well remember how six years ago here, in the high luxuriant grass, revelled our mules and Selim's ill-starred ass, destined on the morrow to be half buried in Bikath-Megiddo's mud, and how the spiteful miller spoilt his morning meal. Worse things, however, than these happened, not far off, to Sisera thirty centuries ago.

In support of Mujedda, Lieutenant Conder quotes Ahaziah's flight. Without giving an opinion on the position of "Beth-hag-gan," "Maaleh Gur," and Ibleam, I would point out that even if Ahaziah fled northwards towards en N'aûrah, he might afterwards, under cover of night, reach Megiddo (near Lejjun) as easily as Mujedda.

His object seems to have been, not to get to Jerusalem, but to the nearest place of refuge, and afterwards (as we learn from 2 Chron. xxii, 9) "they caught him (for he was *hid in Samaria*) and *brought* him to Jehu." Thus it is probable that the words "he died *there*," (2 Kings ix, 27), ought to be translated "he died *then*," *i.e.*, at that time, when Jehu cut off the house of Ahab.

The Bible does not state by what road Necho approached Megiddo. I am not sure, however, that to march up the Jordan valley would not be more exhausting than "to toil over the *hostile* mountains of Ephraim," *hostile* only by an oversight, as Josiah's power reached even unto Naphtali (2 Chron. xxxiv, 6).

It is very satisfactory to find that the *great* plain near Taanuk is after all "the valley (*Bikah*) of Megiddo," as the uniform meaning of the word *Bikah* is hereby preserved. The next step is to admit that "Baalgad in the valley (*Bikah*) of Lebanon" (Josh. xi, 17; xii, 7) must be *Ba'albek* in *el Buka'a*.

The Jordan valley east of Mujedda seems to me hardly worthy to be called a *Bikah*, and if it were, it ought to be called the *Bikah of Bethshean* and not of Mujedda.

If one had to point out on the map where Barak fought, I should say *el'Afûleh* or the *Birket el Fûleh*, just west of it, which is marked as "marsh in winter." Here Sisera's host would be shut in between the confluents of the Kishon. This spot is six miles from Taanach, and four from the waters of Megiddo, which distances I hope are not too great to be covered by the Hebrew *li;* but if they are, then the battle must be placed still nearer to Taanuk.

Until it is agreed what is *the* correct translation of the Mohar's adventures, it seems premature to attach any weight to them in this matter.

W. F. Birch.

HIDING PLACES IN CANAAN.

II. Gideon's Wine-press at Ophrah.

Ophrah of the Abi-ezrites was certainly in *western* Manasseh (Josh. xvii, 1–6), although Josephus speaks of Gideon's preparing to cross the Jordan ("Ant.," v, vi, 3) in order to attack the Midianites in the valley of Jezreel.

Lieutenant Conder in his "Handbook" states that this Ophrah is "probably the present village Ferâta, near Shechem, the old name of which was Ophrah (Samaritan Chronicle)." Happily the identification of Gideon's famous city need not rest on this insufficient evidence, as

the details of the Bible story will, I believe, be found to fix the exact spot beyond all doubt.

We have to find in western Manasseh, which reached apparently from Issachar to a little south of Shechem, a place satisfying the following conditions :—

(1.) It ought to be suitable for vines, and perhaps to contain some old wine-presses ; as Gideon was *beating* wheat in the wine-press. This would probably be in a vineyard on the southern slope of a hill.

(2.) There ought to be *cliff* near, since close to the wine-press was a *Selah* (A. V. rock, Jud. vi, 20), *i.e.*, a *precipitous* rock. Welcome again to this old friend, who has helped us before ! On this *sela* Gideon apparently built the altar called "Jehovah Shalom."

(3.) There ought also to be a *strong place*, or fortress (A. V. rock, Hebr. *maoz*, Jud. vi, 26), to which, I imagine, the inhabitants used to escape with their cattle in times of danger.

On it stood the altar and grave of Baal, which Gideon destroyed ; here too he built an altar unto the Lord (vi, 26). If (which seems uncertain) the two altars were identical, then the *fortress* must have stood *upon the cliff*.

(4.) There ought to be at least one *ancient tomb*, as Gideon was buried in the sepulchre of his father at Ophrah.

(5.) It ought probably to be *not far from Shechem*, as Gideon's concubine lived at the latter city.

(6.) It ought probably to be *on the south side* of Shechem, as Jotham took his stand on the *southern Gerizim*, and not on the northern Ebal.

Guided by conditions 1 to 4, I had in vain searched the country north of Samaria ; when however we turn to the Survey Map, to find some spot to which *all* the indicating lines 1–6 converge, we meet with complete success.

One and three quarter miles (5) south-west of Shechem, (6) is an elevated (2,508 feet) village named el Arâk (2), *i.e.*, *the cliff*. It is apparently marked as an isolated place perched on the *precipitous* extremity (3) of a narrow ridge running westwards from Mount Gerizim. As this spot most remarkably satisfies the conditions 2, 3, as well as 5 and 6, I do not hesitate to recognize it as the *maoz* or fortress, if not also as the *sela* or cliff mentioned in Jud. vi, 20, 26. I venture to predict that when search is made on the spot, *tombs* will be found to satisfy (4), and possibly an old wine-press to suit (1), as vineyards seem in the map to be marked on the southern side of the hill.

In regard to Arabic, as I have not even the little knowledge which is proverbially dangerous, I abstain from discussing whether the name of Ophrah does, or does not survive in the ruin called Khurbet Aufâr, on the opposite hill, three-quarters of a mile south-east of el Arak. The memoirs will probably give some interesting particulars *bearing on this identification.*

The tower of Shechem, the hold of the House of the god Baal Berith and Mount Zalmon. The tower though not *in* was obviously *near* Shechem, so

that Jebel Suleiman ("Handbook," p. 210), four miles off, cannot be Mount Zalmon, as Abimelech though willing once in a way to be *a hewer of wood*, would naturally demur to carrying his load further than was necessary. It seems to me that Zalmon ("Sinai and Palestine," p. 239) must be some part of Ebal. The curious ruin on whose summit ("Tent Work," i, p. 67) may well be *the hold* (a kind of tower) mentioned in Jud. ix, 46. An altar of Baal might as suitably have stood on the *top* of Ebal as of Carmel.

I propose in the next number to give the arguments for placing the cave of Adullam at Khureitûn, and the rock Etam near it in Wâdy Urtas. W. F. Birch.

EMMAUS.

First of all, Khamĕsa, which has of late secured some votes as the probable site of Emmaus, is at least 8½ miles, as the crow flies, from Jerusalem, and by any possible road cannot be less than 9½ miles from that city. The distance is therefore too great to tally with St. Luke or Josephus.

Now among the cities of Benjamin, Joshua (xviii, 26) speaks of Musah, as we read it, but in Hebrew הַמֹּצָה Hammosah, "The Mosah." Fürst gives Musah the meaning "place of reeds," but it seems more probable that it is equivalent to מוֹצָא, a spring. Be this as it may, the Talmud says that this Musah, or Maûza, is the place whence willows were brought to adorn the Altar at the Feast of Tabernacles, and this suggests a valley; and elsewhere again the Talmud says that it was made a colony. (*See* Caspari § 242.)

But Josephus tells us in the well known passage that his Ammaus was colonised by the assignment of the place by Titus to 800 discharged veterans.

We have thus side by side these statements from totally different sources: first, that a place called by Joshua Hammusah became a Roman colony; secondly, that Ammaus became a Roman colony. Hammusah is therefore in all probability identical with Ammaus.

We now turn to the map. We find a well known place on the main road from Jerusalem to the west, called Kolonieh, manifestly from Colonia, and about a mile to the north of this, looking down on a valley which trends at that point south and west toward Kolonieh, a ruin called Brit Muzza.

Here we have another linking of these two, Hammusah, the fountain, and a Roman colony, and we must be near the place we are looking for.

But now let us pass up from Kolonieh along the valley, under Brit Muzza, and pursue our way along the whole length of the valley (Wâdy Bŭwai) up to its head. We are then some three miles from Kolonieh, and

about a mile further, on the hill, in Kubeibet, which it is said the Crusaders were informed was the site of Emmaus.

Now the head of this valley is as near as may be 60 stadia from Jerusalem. And it would seem probable that the original Emmaus, or the principal part of its population, originally laid around the head of the valley, giving its name, however, more or less exactly, to the whole: that this valley, and especially its upper part, was originally the *Colonia* of the discharged soldiers of Titus, but that as time went on the chief part of the population gravitated down to the Roman road, not at the nearest point to Jerusalem, but at the junction of the valley with that road.

Travellers from Jerusalem to the upper valley of Emmaus would not pass through Kolonieh, but would leave the main road about two miles from that place, and descend into the Wâdy Bŭwai just where the roads from Kolonieh on the left, and from Lifta on the right, converge upon it. At such a point as this we may well imagine that the two disciples encountered their veiled and risen Lord, and as they went along that upland path towards what was then the chief part at least of Emmaus, the fountains of a new life were opened out to them.

Joshua and the Talmud, St. Luke and Josephus, the traditions heard by the Crusaders, and the stern requirements of a modern survey fixing distances beyond possibility of mistake, seem all harmonised by the identification thus proposed.